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THE KAMARAKOTO INDIANS

A CARIB TRIBE OF VENEZUELAN GUAYANA

by

George Gaylord Simpson

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EDITORIAL NOTE

114 [122] The Revista de Fomento (official Review of the Ministerio de Fomento of the United States of Venezuela) takes pleasure in publishing the noteworthy work of Dr. George Gaylord Simpson entitled "The Kamarakoto Indians, Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guiana," which it believes to be an important scientific contribution to the ethnology of the Venezuelan indigenous tribes in general and, more particularly, to that of the Venezuelan Carib tribes.

Dr. Simpson, a distinguished vertebrate paleontologist of The American Museum of Natural History of New York, was graduated from Yale University (Ph.B. 1923, Ph.D. 1926), where he made investigations on geology and vertebrate paleontology. He has also done scientific research under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the National Research Council, the International Education Board, the British Museum (Natural History) in London and, finally, for the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he has been an associate curator since 1929. He belongs to the following scientific societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, American Society of Mammalogists, American Society of Naturalists, American Philosophical Society, Paleontological Society, Geological Society of America, and others. He is a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and of the Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geograficos "Gaea," and an active member of the Explorers Club. He has taken part in many paleontological expeditions in the United States of America and in South America, as a staff member of the American Museum of Natural History, and has published more than two hundred scientific papers and books.

Dr. Simpson came to Venezuela in September 1938, together with his wife Dr. Anne Roe, by special invitation of the President through the Ministerio de Fomento and as representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in order to organize the collection, preparation, and scientific study of fossil mammals near Barquisimeto and elsewhere in Venezuela, following up the work begun by Brother Nectario Maria of La Salle Institute in Barquisimeto.

Dr. Simpson went to the region of San Miguel, near the Barquisimeto-Quibor highway, where he planned and carried out the work of collecting fossil mammal bones in the field revealed by Brother Nectario Maria's explorations.

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114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

[10] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted herself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

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INTRODUCTION

Orientation

101 At about the time of its discovery by Columbus, the great and varied territory that is now united under the Venezuelan flag was occupied by a large number of highly diverse tribes of Indians. Most of these belonged to two major stocks, or linguistic and cultural divisions, those of the Caribs and Arawaks. Each of these major groups is now known to have arisen from a single origin (linguistically and culturally at least – each may have absorbed much blood originally alien to it), although each includes tribes so separated geographically or in other respects that they were not themselves aware of this basic unity.
101 Various Carib tribes, loosely or not at all federated, occupied almost all the
131 coastal region from near Valencia eastward to Cumaná, and other Caribs occupied the shores of Lake Maracaibo except at the northern end and most of the mountains west of the lake far into Colombia, for the Motilones belong to this group. The coast from near the Río Yaracuy, westward into Colombia, including the northern end of Lake Maracaibo and the site of the present city of Maracaibo, was occupied by Arawak tribes, and closely allied Indians covered a vast area inland including almost all of the western llanos. The Andes were occupied by an isolated group, the Timotes, neither Carib nor Arawak in affinity, and an equally isolated group, the Betoys, lived around the northern end of these mountains and northward to the interior of the present state of Falcón.

Elsewhere there were other similarly isolated groups, such as the Warraus (or Guauraus) around the Orinoco Delta region, the Yaruros, Wahibos (or Guahibos), and others on the middle and upper Orinoco, the Waikas (not to be confused with the Carib Akawais who have also been called Waikas, or Guaicas) at the headwaters of that river, and a few others. Notwithstanding the survival, even today, of several such isolated relict groups and of a few almost equally isolated Arawak tribes, almost all of the wild and enormous

101 131 territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

177 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

121 The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

101 131 Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

101 171 From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others habitually
137 182 live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taurepanes,
133 are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example
of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer
can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing
as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly
no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general,
a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons
114 are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best
121 studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edit[illegible]

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 101 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the inference from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 101 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand account of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní. [131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend
[805] curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from
[101] farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

[7] [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north
of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of
this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from
the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the
dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of
Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed
into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from
the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos"
must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because
the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed
with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
721 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago,
between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a
tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over
fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war.
There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's
life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared
never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of
such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or
others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago.
The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact
with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with
the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned
for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work
possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento,
Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition,
members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks
to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115
124 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

/28 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this
tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning
phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity
of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions
concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montesdeoca,
128 who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[197] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observations
128 are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertaining
128 to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

121
128 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade, herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 [197] It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxonomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 [128] A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, especially the Galibis or Kaliñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but re-
ferable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect,
Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language,
[192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is
relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at
[177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words ap-
ply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8]
and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than
directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114
192 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kama-
rakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira),
"membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by
me. The third, maikili (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and
[197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions,
his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamara-
kotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

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[8] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 – Analyst]

194 b - phoneme is open, while that of the Spanish b - phoneme is more nearly stopped. Subsidiary members of the Kamarakoto r - phoneme overlap both the r - and the l - phonemes of Spanish. Similarly a single Spanish phoneme may be represented by two in Kamarakoto, for instance Spanish e overlaps both Kamarakoto e and E. Some Kamarakoto phonemes, like ə, do not occur in Spanish at all and some Spanish phonemes, like f, are wholly lacking in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakoto language is characterized phonetically by its relatively vocalic character. It is rich in vowels, including a whole series of central vowels that are particularly foreign to the Spanish ear, and most of the vowels produce shades and intergradations that are practically innumerable. Long successions of vowels and semivowels occur, as in the word woiwo which has no true consonants and is a succession of five distinct vowels and semivowels together with several intermediate gliding vowel sounds not written in broad transcription. There are relatively few really distinct consonant phonemes and successive consonants are rare and confined to a very few simple groups; for instance, such combinations as st, pr, bl, etc., so common in Spanish and most other European languages, are wholly absent in Kamarakoto. Like many other Indian languages, Kamarakoto is especially poor in pure fricatives. Several phonemes have fricative members or are transitional to fricatives, but there is no phoneme that is always and purely fricative. Unlike many, perhaps the majority of, Indian languages, Kamarakoto does not have a finely subdivided system of gutturals but has only two definite post-alveolar stop phonemes, one plosive (k-g) and the other non-plosive (ʾ). Intonation is peculiar and striking because of the shortening and strong stressing of virtually all final syllables.

104 Transcription. For present purposes it has been most practical to use a broad transcription, one in which each symbol represents a sound or a group of sounds which are for the Indians themselves members of a single phonetic unit, that is, belong to one phoneme. The only exceptions are the symbols g, ts, and l, which are respectively members of the k, s, and r phonemes but which are here distinguished for reasons given below. The symbols used are essentially those of the broad (or "simple") system of the American Anthropological Association,[9] which has the advantages of previous wide use for Indian languages and of requiring few symbols not found in all ordinary type fonts — for Kamarakoto only two, ɛ and ə, are necessary. Of course most of these symbols require special definition for adaptation to this particular language. The only definite departions from the A. A. A. broad system are the use of a period (.) to separate non-diphthongal vowel combinations, as in the A. A. A. narrow system, the use of ʾ to represent a non-plosive stop for which the system makes no provision, and the use of ch to represent a sound essentially like Spanish ch. The system has the important advantage that Indian words so written are generally recognizable if pronounced in the Spanish manner.[10]

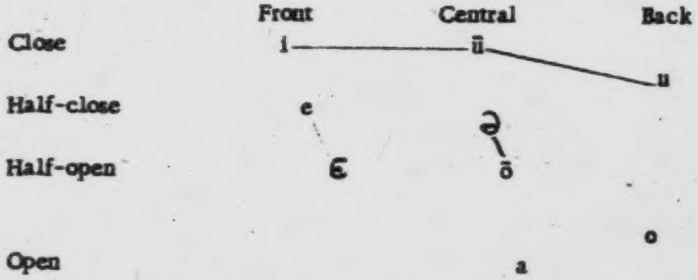
9, 10 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 128 Although the fact is well known it should be added that different speakers or the same speaker at different times will often say the same word in distinctly different ways. It would be possible to write many or all of these Indian words in some other way and still to have them as nearly "correct" as they are here. I can only say that, given the definitions of my symbols, I have heard each word pronounced by a native about or exactly as I write it and that I believe these to be the "standard" or "received" Kamarakoto pronunciations as spoken in and immediately near Kamarata. As a practical test, I could read over my transcriptions of Indian expressions after the auditory memory of them was vague or lost and the Indians invariably understood them easily, even though they occasionally corrected slight shades of sound.

194

Vowels.

Simple vowels. The nine vowel phonemes definitely distinguished may be represented as follows:



i, u, and a are essentially as in Spanish.

e is about as in Spanish, except that in Spanish it includes members that approach ɛ, which is a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto. ɛ is a more open and slightly more posterior sound than e, similar to the English e as in "pen." e and ɛ intergrade in Kamarakoto, a fact charted by inserting a line between them,[11] but their principal members are quite distinct.

a is similar to Spanish a but is an open intermediate vowel resembling the non-Spanish ō but more open. It sometimes differs from o (or also from ō) rather by a more open, less rounded lip position than by a decided difference in tongue position.

The greatest peculiarity of the Kamarakoto vocalic system, especially in comparison with Spanish, is its possession of a series of distinct central vowels, whereas practically all the Spanish vowels are near or on the anterior and posterior sides of the vowel triangle. I have been able to distinguish three

[11] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 fairly distinct central vowel phonemes in Kamarakoto and represent them by ü, ə, and ö.

ü, which resembles German ü without being identical, is in almost every respect intermediate between i and u and may be adequately reproduced by moving lips, jaw, and tongue half-way from i to u and then vibrating the vocal chords. Subsidiary members of the phoneme grade into i and into u and sounds practically indistinguishable from these two may appear in a ü - diaphoue. Thus the word usually pronounced o. ina is also pronounced o. üna and the word usually pronounced təpüi is also pronounced nearly (although not quite) təpui.

ə is the so-called neutral vowel, about like French e in such words as "de" or "le." It also resembles the neutral sound to which unstressed short English vowels tend to degenerate; e.g. a as in "along," e in "pavement," i in "horrible," o in "method," or u in "chorus," but in Kamarakoto it is more definite and distinct and is often stressed.[12] It is sharply unlike the Spanish e and does not grade into it noticeably.

ö grades into ə and the two are often difficult to distinguish, but I believe them to be separate phonemes. ö is similar to, but not the same as, German ö or French eu and is intermediate in position between ə and a, sometimes with greater protrusion of the lips than in either of these.

The fact that ü, ə, and ö do not occur in Spanish and that there is no specific spelling for ə in English has made the transcription of Indian words and names containing them very difficult and variable. ü has usually been written as u and ə as e, for instance the common geographic word təpüi ("mountain") is usually written "tepui" or "tepuy." As regards the ü this is a fair approximation, but e is a very poor approximation of ə, in fact a very short u, although equally incorrect, is acoustically nearer ə (to my ear) than is e and the spelling "tupuy," pronounced as if Spanish, is at least as good an approximation as is "tepui" or "tepuy." Variants of the sound here written ö have usually been recorded as o, but sometimes as e and sometimes as a. If only Spanish vowels are to be used, a is generally the closest acoustically, but not always — for instance the diphthong öi is very unlike Spanish ai and is better rendered as oi or ui. On a later page I have suggested Spanish spellings for some of the geographic names in the territory of this tribe.

Diphthongs. The following diphthongs were definitely recorded:

au ai
ei
eu öi > oi
üi

[12] [see footnote on p. 306, category 11b – Analyst]

194 Of the other possible diphthongs in -i or -u, no close approach to ou, õu əu, or uu was heard and it is probable that in these combinations the two vowels are too much alike to be spoken as distinctly separate elements although they may appear vaguely as a result of glides that are not real phonemes. As in most languages, iu does not form a falling diphthong but becomes a rising diphthong or semivowel + vowel, yu. Something very near ɛu is often heard, but usually it is closer to eu and is probably not a separate phoneme. Perhaps the -u tends to draw ɛ closer to e and in any case the two, if they are really both present, are practically indistinguishable acoustically and do not appear to be distinguished by the Indians. The same is true of ɛi as against ei. ui was not recorded as separate phoneme, although approximations of it appear within a ũi - diaphone. If ui can properly be said to occur at all, the -i has probably drawn the u- forward so as to be practically indistinguishable from ũ.[13] It is highly probable that əi occurs, but ə and õ are usually difficult to distinguish and in this combination I found it impossible to do so with any consistency. The whole range of sounds around əi and õi is recorded as õi. I could not determine that the Indians themselves consciously differentiate the two.

The diphthongs in -u and -i are all falling. Whether or not rising diphthongs occur is purely a matter of definition. The sounds here written wa, ya, etc. could be considered as rising diphthongs and written ua, ia, etc. It is, however, more usual phonetic practice and is more nearly self-explanatory to consider these combinations as semivowel + vowel and I have so written them.[14] [104]

Unless a few syllables like wai be so considered, there are no triphthongs.

Successive vowels. Successive vowels in Kamarakoto are rare, tending to run into diphthongs or to become separated by semivowels, but they do occur. Thus the word o.ina is clearly three, not two, syllables, o-i-na, not oi-na, a separation here indicated by a period between the non-diphthongized vowels. Its diaphone o.ũna also has successive vowels and a diphthongized variant of this word was not heard among the Kamarakotos.[15]

Similarly the word usually pronounced ita.i occasionally becomes itai. The difficulty of pronouncing such a word without diphthongizing is interestingly illustrated by the fact that a child attempting to say ita.i consistently produced it as itoyi, apparently realizing that a.i is not the same as ai but unable to pronounce successive a and i. The tendency here shown, toward separating successive vowels by a semivowel, is fairly general in the language and perhaps explains why successive vowels are so rare. Thus po.inga is also pronounced poyinga, and a shadowy semivowel y often occurs in such a position.

This difficulty appears to be less when the second vowel is one other than i. Thus such combinations as o.apa or ko.atai show less tendency toward insertion of a semivowel, although even here a very fleeting w-like sound may be present between o and a.

13, 14, 15 [see footnotes on pp. 306-07, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Sometimes the distinction between successive vowels and diphthong or semivowel + vowel is so little as to be really subjective. For instance in the word *lue* the *u* is longer and more vocalic than the usual *w* but shorter and less vocalic than the usual *u*. The sound actually heard could about equally well be represented by *lu.e*, *lue*, or *lwe* (and also about equally well by *ru.e*, *rué*, and *rwe*). Similarly there are a few words like *mausa*, which is hardly different from *ma.usa* because the *u* is longer than it usually is in a diphthong but shorter than it usually is as a simple vowel. This is only likely to occur when the *u* is the penultimate vowel.

Double vowels, as distinct from merely long vowels, seem to be very rare but I have recorded one instance, in the word *o.olori*, which is not pronounced *ōlori* (nor *oulori*, *wolori*, etc.).[16]

Vowel quantity. Something has already been suggested of vowel quantity as it affects diphthongs and successive vowels. All vowels vary greatly in quantity, but most of the variations are nonfunctional, related to phonetic surroundings, speed of speech, and similar factors rather than approaching the status of phonemes. In most words the last vowel is relatively short, the penultimate vowel longer, and preceding vowels intermediate in length between these two. Thus in such an average word as *Kumasa* the relative vowel quantities are:

1. *u* — medium.
2. *a* — moderately long.
3. *a* — short, stressed.

Frequently a word pronounced out of context will have all the vowels somewhat lengthened for distinctness and the penultimate disproportionately so.

In words that follow this rule, which includes most of those recorded, no special indication of length is given. In some words, however, the penultimate vowel is still longer, this relative length is retained regardless of style of speech, the acoustic effect of the accent of the word is thus definitely altered, and the word may be unrecognizable or may sound decidedly wrong if the penultimate [104] vowel is given only normal length. In these cases, then, the long vowels achieve the status of true phonemes and (in accordance with both A. A. A. and International systems) I indicate them by placing a colon after the vowel, e.g. *ama:tu*, in which the relative quantities are:

1. *a* — medium.
2. *a:* - very long.
3. *u* — short, stressed.

Such long vowels are very rare except in the penultimate syllable, but do occur elsewhere in exceptional words, e.g. in *o:apa* in which the quantities are:

1. *o:* — long.
2. *a* — very short.
3. *a* — short.

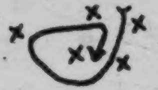
[16] [see footnote on p. 307, category 11b - Analyst]

194

This is so exceptional phonetically that the penultimate a should perhaps be considered as incidental to the glide from oː- to -pa rather than as functionally syllabic, but the word is unrecognizable to the Indians if pronounced oːpa.

It goes almost without saying that supershort vowels (and continuant consonants) commonly appear in glides between many other sounds. Since these are practically physiological necessities in a continuous speech-act and have no linguistic function, they are not written in broad transcriptions like this unless (as in the exceptional oəapa) they become so pronounced that they do acquire some linguistic value.

The word woiwo, already mentioned as peculiar, is interesting in connection with vowel quantities and glides. It might be described as a continuous vowel sound during which the raised part of the tongue goes through a closed, rounded, triangular path, thus:



— moving continuously but slowing down differently at the various points marked x. The result could be expressed thus:

u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — moderately long (pronounced slowing).
ə — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
i — short (brief slowing).
ŭ — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — short, stressed (movement slows briefly and then ceases abruptly).

How such a sequence should be divided into syllables and what status should be given to its sounds is largely subjective. The sort of transcription used has shown the five points at which slowing occurs, w, o, i, w, and o, shows that this is definitely shorter at the first and fourth slowings, w and w, than at the others, and shows that it is shorter at the third than at the second. These are enough data for the correct pronunciation of the word without attempting to represent its more subtle glides, etc.

Consonants.

Many of the Kamarakoto consonant phonemes do not fall categorically into the usual phonetic classifications. Thus the b - phoneme includes both a plosive stop and a (nearly stopped) fricative, s includes both a fricative and an affricative, k includes both surd and sonant members, ʔ is a stop but is not plosive ("stop" and "plosive" often being used as if synonymous), etc.

194 As nearly as these peculiarities permit formal classification, the Kamarakoto consonants are as follows:

	Stops and Semistops			Fricative-Affricatives	Nasals		Flaps[17]	Semi-vowels
	Fricative-plosive	Plosive	Non-plosive		Short	Long		
Bilabial /	*b*	*p*	—	(*b*)	*m*	—	—	*w*
Dental-alveolar	*d*	*t*	—	*s-ts*	*n*	*n:*	—	(*y*)
Palatal	—	—	—	*ch*	*ñ*	*ñ:*	*r-l*	*y*
Palato-velar	—	*k-g*	ʼ	—	(*n*)	—	—	—

[17] [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 - Analyrt]

194 There do not appear to be any consonant phonemes in Kamarakoto that are distinguished only or mainly by being sonant or surd. ts and ch are always surd; p, t, and k-g have their principal members surd but also include semi-sonant or sonant members. The other phonemes are practically always sonant.

Counting long nasals as distinct phonemes and counting b, k-g, n, r, and y as single phonemes (which I believe to be correct although some of these may possibly include two phonemes), there are fifteen consonants in Kamarakoto. Each of these is more exactly defined below.

b. —In Kamarakoto there is an almost continuous series of sounds from u to p and it is difficult to draw definite boundaries between phonemes in this series. w is a much shortened and somewhat relaxed u. When the lip-rounding is fully relaxed, w becomes a sort of bilabial v which is not a distinct phoneme in Kamarakoto but is approached by a relatively open b. In the typical pronunciation of b the lips are brought together, but without any muscular pressure, so that some breath does escape, producing a sound intermediate between fricative and a plosive. If no breath happens to escape, a weak plosive b is produced. As both the muscular lip tension and the breath-pressure are increased, this sound becomes stronger and becomes a sonant, bilabial, plosive fortis (a sound not clearly developed in either Spanish or English and only a rare variant in Kamarakoto). Now as the tension of the vocal chords is relaxed, this sound becomes semisonant and then surd and in the latter case is a typical p. As in English and Spanish, the relaxation of the vocal chords usually accompanies the tensing of the other organs of speech, but the overlap is more extensive and different so that a variant sound that might be described as a dull, b-like p does occur.

Within this series, the principal member of the b - phoneme has the lips brought together but fully relaxed, so that there is usually some escape of breath and the sound is partly a fricative and partly lenis plosive. Other members of the phoneme, less often heard, are close approaches to true bilabial v and to true plosive b. At the latter point I am not sure that I have always drawn the line correctly between this phoneme and the p - phoneme, but in most cases they are distinct.[18]

p. — The principal member of the p - phoneme is a surd, bilabial, plosive fortis, essentially as in Spanish or English. Only when it becomes somewhat sonant or somewhat lenis, as it occasionally does, is confusion with b likely.

d. — The relationship between d and t in Kamarakoto is exactly analogous to that between b and p. In the principal member of the d - phoneme the stop, here made between the blade of the tongue and the dental and alveolar parts of the front of the mouth, is loose and usually some air escapes giving the sound a fricative element. This is very like Spanish d in such words as "merced," but in Kamarakoto it may be initial and is never terminal. Less

18[see footnote on p. 307, category 116 — Analyst]

194 common variant members of the phoneme are more open, producing an approach to English sonant th as in "this," or fully closed, producing the typical plosive d.[19]

t. — The principal member of the t - phoneme is almost as in Spanish, but these appear to be semisonant, and possibly even fully sonant, variant members. The stop is complete so that the sound is a non-fricative plosive, generally fortis.

k-g. — An incompletely stopped palatal or velar plosive was not heard.[20] The principal member of the phoneme is a true plosive k with various position variants conditioned by the surrounding vowels and, unlike those of many Indian languages, not distinguished as separate phonemes. The differences in acoustic effect are insignificant. There is, however, a plosive g-sound in the language, which sounds quite different from the k to Spanish- or English-adapted ears. It is not distinguished from k by the Indians and almost invariably occurs under special phonetic conditions where k is unusual, i.e. after nasals and before w.[21] It must therefore be regarded as a member of the k - [104] phoneme. I have nevertheless departed from broad transcription to the extent of using g when the sound was normally and distinctly voiced. Spanish- and English-speaking readers will thus achieve a better pronunciation of the words and no confusion will result if they remember that this g is merely a voiced k.

ʼ. — One of the most typical characteristics of the Kamarakoto language is the existence of a sound produced by bringing the tongue into contact with the nearest part of the roof of the mouth and then relaxing the vocal chords and releasing the breath pressure so that the subsequent opening of the stop is practically inaudible. It thus differs essentially from k in which the sound is chiefly produced by the opening of the stop, that is, is plosive. ʼ is a stop that is not plosive. The exact position in which the stop is produced varies from velar to anterior palatal, but this is determined by the position of the preceding vowel and is not a difference in phonemes. After a posterior vowel, such as a, ʼ produces an acoustic effect something like a completely unaspirated k and after an anterior vowel, notably i, the effect is that of a similarly unaspirated t, or, more accurately, they are rather like completely voiceless g and d, respectively.[22]

This sound only occurs after vowels and is hardly ever heard except at the end of a word. Sometimes it is retained in compounds but often it is then weakened or lost, depending on the degree of fusion attained by the compound. Thus in enwarapaima the ʼ of enwaraʼ is lost, but in maichaʼ-ya the ʼ of maichaʼ is retained. It may appear in weak form after any terminal vowel (except those that are or can be nasalized, see below), but I have written it only when it is normally strong and distinct and is felt to be an essential element in the word.

19, 20, 21, 22 [see footnotes on pp. 307-08, — Analyst]
category 116

194 I have considered this sound as a phoneme, and certainly many words cannot be correctly pronounced unless it is indicated, but I suspect that it is a secondary phonetic phenomenon not quite analogous to the other stops. It probably arises from the strongly stressed but at the same time short nature of final vowels in Kamarakoto, as a means of quickly and definitively shutting off a short, sharp vowel. Indeed the sound may readily be obtained by attempting to pronounce a vowel as forcefully as possible and at the same time to stop it with the tongue as quickly as possible.[23]

The symbol ʼ is usually used for the glottal stop, but it is convenient to borrow it for this analogous and acoustically somewhat similar palato-velar stop.

s-ts. — The Kamarakoto *s* resembles that of Spanish but is still stronger. It is always surd and is a very strong, decisive hiss. The enunciation is so forceful that the tongue is brought nearly into contact with the roof of the mouth, opening again as it slides into the following vowel. This grades naturally into a sound in which the tongue does actually touch for the briefest instant, producing an affricative *ts.*[24] This affricative or transitional fricative-affricative *ts* is not a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto but is only an *s* still stronger than usual, as is well shown by the fact that *s* and *ts* are often interchangeable, even within this dialect, and that the Indians do not distinguish them. Thus the word usually pronounced *motsa* is also sometimes pronounced *mosa* and in some related dialects is always *mosa.* I have written *ts* when it is clearly present and relatively constant, a departure from broad transcription but one that permits better pronunciation of the Kamarakoto words without undue complexity of symbols.

ch. — The sound so represented is a strong affricative practically the same as Spanish *ch* or as English *ch* in "church." In its variation it sometimes approaches *ts,* but is usually quite distinct.[25]

ch is a poor symbol for this sound from an international point of view, but it conveys it immediately to Spanish- or English-speaking readers. The A. A. A. symbol, *tc,* conveys an incorrect idea to anyone not constantly concerned with that system, and the International Phonetic symbol requires special type.

Since *ch* has the same relationship to English *sh* as in "English" that *ts* has to *s,* it might be expected that *sh* would be the principal member of this phoneme as *s* is of the *s-ts* phoneme. In fact *sh* is a common diaphone in related languages, compare, for example Kamarakoto *chayu* = Taurepán *shu:yu, panachika* = *pana:shika,*[26] etc., but I did not hear any Kamarakoto pronounce *ch* without a distinct initial close, however brief.

m. — This is the ordinary sonant bilabial nasal and offers no noteworthy peculiarities aside from the tendency for the voicing to cause progressive similitude, i.e. a following *p* or *t* tends to become partly or almost fully voiced and to resemble or even to be indistinguishable from *b* or *d,* respectively.

23, 24, 25, 26 [see footnotes on p. 308, category 116 — Analyst]

194 n. — The usual n is similar to the usual voiced alveolar nasal of European languages, varying somewhat in position under the influence of surrounding sounds. The voicing is generally very full and, as with m, tends to be progressive so that fully surd p or t are rare after n.

In certain fixed positions, n becomes partly or fully velar, almost like English ng in "sing." (As in Kamarakoto, this sound is not a separate phoneme in Spanish but it does occur, being present, not always fully developed, in such words as "brinca," "banco," "tengo," etc.). n in Kamarakoto is always somewhat velarized before k-g (which is usually nearer g in this combination) and w and also when it is final. Since this sound is essentially invariable in these positions and clearly belongs to the n - phoneme, it is not written with a special symbol.

Terminal - n is always velarized but the degree varies. In some cases the sound is nearly that of alveolar n with very slight velarization and in others the velarization is complete. The sound may also be reduced so that it amounts only to a brief nasalization of the end of the preceding vowel or may even be almost inaudible. The variations are individual or developed by the context and do not, strictly speaking, represent distinct members of the n - phoneme, still less separate phonemes but belong in a diaphone with the velar member of the n - phoneme. A recognizable and valid pronunciation will be produced if terminal n is always pronounced as a velar.

n:. — There are a few words in the language, like ben:ę (cf. the quite distinct word bene) which contain a functional long nasal recognized by the Indians themselves as unlike the short sound. This should therefore probably be considered a separate phoneme although it is merely a prolongation of n.

n̄. — This is a distinct palatal n or n - mouillé, acoustically indistinguishable from Spanish ñ. It is less variable than n, apparently never being distinctly reduced or velarized.

n̄:. — There is a rare long palatal n, or n̄, as in n̄:amorə, which is acoustically well distinguished from n̄ and may be a separate phoneme. It sounds much like nn̄, but analysis shows that the prolonged first part is really palatal, as in n̄, and not alveolar, as in n. It has, however, probably arisen from n+n̄.

r-l. — Sounds generally transcribed as r and l belong to a single phoneme in Kamarakoto. The principal member of this phoneme is a flapped r, resembling the Spanish flapped r, as in "era," and the British (not American) flapped r as in "very."[27] It is very unlike the trilled or fricative r's, as in Spanish rr or initial r or English r in "ready," and still less like the uvular or so-called guttural forms general in French and German.[28] Despite this decided difference from various sounds commonly written r in European languages, the close resemblance to the common flapped Spanish r makes this a good symbol for the principal member of this phoneme.

27, 28 [see foot notes on p. 308, category 116 - Analyst]

194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish *r*, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) *l*. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name *Luepa* belongs to the *r* - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it *Ruepa*, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer *l* than *r*. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce *r* without lateral opening before a very short *u* or *w*. This can be done before a longer *u*, e.g. in *Karume*, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the *r*.

Before a distinct, non-gliding *e* the sound is generally a fairly pure *r*, e.g. *aka:re*.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing *l* when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using *r* when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter *w*, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme *b*, not *w*. The sound differs from *u* principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic *u*, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort *u*, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as *w*. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic *u*.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by *y* is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort *i* - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English *j* as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English *y* in "yield" or Spanish *y* in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French *j* of "je" or English *z* of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
[171] of *y* and *ll*. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, *ll* has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto *y*.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 —Analyst]

Py Especially when it may be regarded as instrusive and is glide-like, as in poyinga,[32] the y may be a non-fricative semivowel, but it is impossible to set this aside as a separate phoneme. Once the y appears, even as an intrusion, it tends to become fricative and even the truly consonantal semi-fricative y varies greatly in the strength of the fricative element.

Some idea of the variation within this protean phoneme may be illustrated by the word yɛ̨ʔ, "tree." Pronounced by itself, the word begins with a fairly clear, almost non-fricative y. In compounds, which are very numerous, it usually is strongly fricative, becoming nearly -zɛ̨ʔ (z as in English "asure"). From this, the normal pronunciation in compounds, arises a (rather imperfect) affricative and the pronunciation is nearly -dzɛ̨ʔ (dz like j and g in English "judge"), e.g. tsimara-ozɛ̨ʔ, also pronounced simara-zɛ̨ʔ. Finally in a few cases the closure approached in the last form predominates over the sibilant fricative sound and the acoustic impression is that of a vague and not quite stopped palatal or somewhat mouillé d, e.g. paumą-dɛ̨ʔ (d as just explained). Close transcription would require six or seven symbols for this one phoneme. As is proper in broad transcription, I have used only one and always write it y. If it is always pronounced as its principal member, described above, it will always be understood and will seldom sound definitely wrong to an Indian.

Successive consonants. It is typical of Kamarakoto that successive consonants are rare and belong to only three simple types:

1. Nasal + stop: saunampa
   mõmbə
   nunga
   pendə
   yentsi[33]
2. r + nasal or stop: karmaiha
   parpari
3. Nasal, r, or stop + w (which could in such cases be considered a supershort vowel and hence not a successive consonant):
   sanwoto (n velarized)
   kan. wa (n not velarized)[34]
   yurwa
   kwai=gwai

Combinations of types (1) and (3) give rise to the very rare cases of three successive consonants, e.g. kambwõ.

The absence of combinations like pr, tr, st, sp, bl, str, spl, etc., so common in European languages, is striking and complete.[35]

Occasionally word- or phrase- building brings ʔ before a consonant. In this case it is usually weakened and may disappear altogether but it is occasionally retained, e.g. maichaʔ-ya. None of the other stops can occur in such a position, even in successive words.

32, 33, 34, 35 [see footnotes on p. 389, category 116 – Analyst]

Stress and Intonation.

194 The numerous peculiarities of individual sounds and of successive vowels and consonants, already mentioned, in themselves produce a phonetic type clearly unlike any European language and also differing from most Indian languages.

Equally striking, especially when hearing the language spoken in consecutive phrases, is the effect of its peculiar stress and intonation. Without important exception, Kamarakoto words have a single, strong stress which falls on the last syllable. This syllable is always short, but it is clearly enunciated and emphatic. The last vowels of words spoken alone, of important words in connected speech, and of words ending sense-groups are almost invariably spoken with a rising tone, making a very peculiar effect on the non-Indian ear, almost as if everything said were questioned. The terminal stress is not marked in my transcription because it may be assumed to be present in all cases. In writing names, etc., in a European language context, however, it is well to write an accent on the last vowel of most Kamarakoto words, thus Karoni should be written "Caroní" in general usage.[36]

An apparent but not real exception arises in the cases of words, like ama:tu, with very long penultimate vowels. Then the prominence of this vowel is, to our ears, about as great as that of the terminal vowel, but the prominence has a different cause. The penultimate vowel in such cases is long but unstressed, the ultimate is short but stressed. Since accent in Spanish and English is generally based on coincident length and stress, in these words the ear is often baffled as to which vowel really carries the accent.

When words are compounded, the original stress may be retained, weakened, or lost, and I have detected no fixed rule for this except that it seems to be roughly in universe ratio to the degree of fusion of sense involved. When the stress is strongly retained, or fusion is clearly incomplete, I have written the word with a hyphen. Thus in tuna-wapai, (coming out) "from the water," the stressed -a of tuna, "water," is retained. The postposition wapai is a separate speech unit (analogous to a preposition) and could be written as a separate word. But yeteka, "(he) is dying, dies," loses its stress in yetekasa, "(he) has died, is dead." Here the added syllable fuses and the whole thing is essentially a new word with a new single stress.

It may be added here that Kamarakoto words can only end in vowels, ʔ, or (velar) -n.[37] Any of the vowels and of the diphthongs in -i can be terminal, but terminal diphthongs in -u are extremely rare (although not quite lacking.) Any of the vowels can be followed in terminal position by ʔ or -n and terminal ʔ is common after -i diphthongs, but -n was not noted after these.[38]

36, 37, 38 [see footnotes on p. 310, category 116 - Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those
197 of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both
128 of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save
space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and
197 occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all
114 other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usu-
ally recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient
for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed
original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly
[104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here
put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

Numbers.

802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are seldom used. [177] During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually *192 replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic *197 affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dia- 802 lects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

1. One — taukin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsagaŋʼ. Taurepan, tsagane, sa:kəne. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-gə-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= at-sar(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanogoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seuluane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e)tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsakə-leũlaʼ-ŋʼ. Taurepan, tsakurõlaŋ, (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-rə-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

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40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 – Analyst]

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suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) asagoro-ne, asagore-nan. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) yuspe. Kalina (de Goeje) akabane (first two a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosaka, (Isaacs, cited by Jahn) kosa(k)taka. With the exception of Cumanagoto and perhaps Motilon, all these words consist of the root for "two" plus a suffix, as if to say "two pairs," "two doubled," or the like. The suffix is not the same in all cases. The root for "two" in this word, although recognizable, is seldom quite the same as in the word for "two." Note especially Ingariko and Akawai in which the gutteral, which was doubtless part of the original Carib root, is preserved in this word but lost in the word for "two."

5. Five — pę-eñato-pę. Taurepan mia:toikin, toikin. Makuchi (Williams) moi-ya e-tai-kin, mi-ya toi-kin. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) miatamunautonkon (= mia - ta-munau + tonkon). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raroe pukin. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-tone. Kalina (de Goeje) oinatoni. Motilon (Jahn) omapo. All these words contain the root for "hand," followed by that for "one" or, as in Kamarakoto, otherwise set off by numerative affixes, the sense in every case being that "five" is a hand (i.e. its full set of fingers). In Kamarakoto the word used for "hand" in this connection is the same as the ordinary separate word, but in other dialects it is often different. Thus in Taurepan "hand" is (it)ena, but mia in mia:toikin is a Carib root for "hand" otherwise absent in Taurepan. Likewise toikin in this dialect is the same word as taukin, "one," but is pronounced differently, so that even with mia omitted toikin is understood as "five," instead of its real root meaning. In Makuchi toikin and etaikin are more archaic forms of this same root than is their word for "one," tiwin.

6. Six — eñato-pona taukin. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le mia-pona tumo tanesi. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win mi-ya po-na tə'-mo-tai. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina-mia-raroe Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehu-y-pona (probably for tewi-pona). Kalĩña (de Goeje) awin tyaima (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) onkora. (Ingariko word not recorded). Except for the dubious Motilon word, these all convey the sense of "one added to a hand." In Taurepan and Makuchi this is fully expressed, in Cumanagoto with

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleũlaˀ-nęˀ.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wəʾ-rə. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tekuankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kalíña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə̃-na-wəʾ -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin karíña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

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When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc.. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

*192 *197 826 [193] suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more distantly allied dialects.

13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."
14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.
15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.
16. *Eye — enu-to. Taurepan (k)einu. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.
17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)euna-le.
18. Lips — epi-to.
19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda, "our mouths" (dual) = ana m-ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

*197 193 This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root -meta-, as in Taurepan to-mata, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umata — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

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20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hanna-ri. Bakairi (Adams) uana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).
21. Neck (front) — pũimõi-to.
22. Neck (back) — pũimõi-yepa-to.

[41] [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.

*197 24. •Arm — emelum-to. Taurepan (t)eumulum. Makuchi (Williams)
826 eme-kun.

[194] 25. •Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena, (it)e:nya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative, ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareõ-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaən
30. 5 — yamiʼ
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — auɛ:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. •Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)euməta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.

34. •Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]

[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pəta -pipə, in which pəta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.

36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 - Analyst]

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826 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupə.

Persons and Relationships.

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*197 38. °Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) uraːuo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. °Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. °Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

[197]
[101] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamarata" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — murɛ.

44. Older person — uyadeta.

45. Younger person — yamipe.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ɛsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 — Analyst]

601 [12B] The following relationship words are merely listed here for completeness as it is necessary to define them in detail on a latter page.

Brother, sister:
49. pasi
50. akon
51. upi uyadetə
52. pirika
53. paruchi uyadetə
54. paruchi
55. *rüiko (see discussion below)
56. yakon

Child:
57. *manon (see below)
58. *urm (see below)
59. yentsi
60. mumun, (u)mo

Adopted child:
61. narimanga

Parent:
62. *paikõi (see below)
63. papai
64. san
65. yun

Spouse:
66. *tamupüi (see below)
67. *nopüi (see below)

Grandparents:
68. *noiˀ (see below, under nopui)
69. *tamo (see below, under nopui)

Grandchild:
70. paˀ

Nephew, niece
71. poitoru
72. patsɛ

Relatives by marriage:
73. payumu
74. payun
75. nopuyun
76. yawoiˀ -pə
77. tamõipuyun
78. yetsɛ
79. yeruiˀ

601 80. parətsi
81. pipi
Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):
82. °awo (see below, under wari)
83. °wari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

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Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo, Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo, T. (K.-G.) -taːmo; K. awo, T. (K.-G.) aːuo; K. poitoru, T. (K.-G.) poitolũ; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: na'nai, "older sister," moyi, "younger brother," ukeipone, "father-in-law," waː'nemule, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ayike', "older brother," and aː'yeke', "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rũiko or pi (uyadetə), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto rũiko, is a common Carib root. I do not place ayike'.

Kamarakoto paikõi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) aːmai. Forms like amai, mamai mama, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. paikõi, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (murɛ, mulɛ, məlɛ, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*197 a father and is usually used by males or in speaking of the child-father relationship
101 but in Kamarakoto means "offspring" in general. It is not impossible
171 that the two roots are connected in origin (in which case -nr- is probably older than -rm-), but they became differentiated at a very ancient period as they are distinct in almost all dialects. mure is also and more obviously related to mu, mumu, etc., a root that means "son" with respect to his father.[46]

Kamarakoto manon, "daughter of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ma:ˀ non, "female cousin." Makuchi (Williams) (e)-ma-non, "young, unmarried female." Here there is no question of identity or identification of the root, but the varying significance attached to it in these three dialects is interesting. Williams suggests comparison with Makuchi e-mai-non, "the first one." Despite the strong phonetic resemblance, it is hard to see a probable connection in meaning.

Kamarakoto wari. This means primarily "woman, female," but my informants also gave it as a relationship word meaning "woman's paternal aunt" or "woman's mother-in-law." Now Williams gives -awobu for "woman's paternal aunt" in Makuchi and Koch-Grünberg gives the cognate (y)auopa for "mother-in-law"[47] in Taurepan. This clearly is the special word for this particular relationship concept; lost in Kamarakoto (or at least not known to my informants — of course others in the tribe may know it as an uncommon word) and replaced by the noncommittal wari. Note, however, that the basic root-element of awobu does occur in Kamarakoto as awo, "woman's maternal uncle" or "woman's father-in-law" and in Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) as a:uo defined simply as "uncle," but doubtless here also "woman's maternal uncle." The root is widespread in Carib, see de Goeje No. 26.]

Kamarakoto tamupũi (also tamõipu- in compounds), "husband." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) -ti:yemu(n). Makuchi (Williams) ni-yo, -nyo. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)tamupa. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nyo. For discussion see next word.

Kamarakoto nopũi (also nopu- in compounds), "wife." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) nopa. Makuchi (Williams) no-bu. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) nopa. Purukoto (Adam) (u)-peti. Galibi (Adam) puiti. Bakairi (Adam) (i)-witi.

In addition to a few rare and peculiar forms, there are in Carib dialects two general roots for "husband," -nyo and tamu + suffix -pu (and variants), of which the former is more widespread, and two for "wife," piti (and wide variants) and no + suffix -pu (etc.), of which the latter is more widespread. Even in languages in which -nyo and piti are used for "husband" and "wife," the roots tamu and no (without suffix -pu) generally occur and their usual meanings are "grandfather, old man" and "grandmother, old woman." For instance in Kamarakoto, itself, tamo (= tamu) and noiˀ (= no) have these meanings. Thus -nyo and piti (etc.) may be considered as primary roots for "husband" and "wife" and tamu + pu and no + pu as secondary or compound words with the

46, 47 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 – Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.

*197 86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
411 87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulõu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, səpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kuraiʼ. Taurepan kuraʼ, Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosaʼ.
97. T[illegible]t of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:saʼ.
98. Quiver for darts — mõi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimuiʼ.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).

*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoiʼ.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoiʼ yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroiʼ.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛʼ.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iruʼ. Taurepan, kariʼ, but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

[48] [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

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The root *kami* probably is not related to *kari'* and means a hammock in Arekuna.

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107. *°pendə*. Taurepan, *pendə*. Makuchi (Williams) *pen-də*.

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

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b. Fire and food.

108. °Flint (for making fire) — *kakon*. Koch-Grünberg gives *wato* (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and *kako:* for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. °Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — *kulü-kulü*. Makuchi (Williams), *kari-kari*, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) *kölö-kölö*. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. *alakaputsa* for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for *kulü-kulü*. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (*külü-külü*). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera *tsə'*, from the sound of the shutter.

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110. Tinder — *wato-dapon*.

111. °Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — *wato*. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), *wato*. See discussion of next word.

112. °Fire, firewood — *apoi'*. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) *apo'*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-po*. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, *wato* usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of *wato* and the other, more variable, forms like *wapoto* ("*uapoto*," Yao, Adam) *apoto* (Cumanagoto, Adam), and *apo*. Forms like *wapto* (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

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related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

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113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoiʼ - tsaupan.
114. Ash — benma.
115. Charcoal — kada:rma-tipwa.
116. Hearth, firehole — apoiʼ -piapoʼ .

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Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa
118. putosa
119. pusa
120. kambwo
121. erindasa
122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 415 *[197] [114]

123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamoʼ.
124. °Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.
125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 272

126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.
127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

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Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.
129. paiba
130. parakari
131. akeüyeüka

*192 *197 415

132. °Earthenware cooking vessel — o.ina. Taurepán, o.ĩna, o.ĩna, ĩna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) hōline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o.i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kaliña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[312] 135. *Grater for casave — sama:ri. Taurepán, suma:ri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wate:a. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

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[128]
c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition. The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa
139. pangai'
140. tangõ'
141. matu:u
142. o. olori
143. waricha
144. warakapi
145. ama:u
146. akai'
147. koatai'
148. wapa
149. ɛno-saramba
150. soko'
151. kumara-katsa'
152. wakawa'
153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroi', No. 104, tsimui', No. 99, and mõi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

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Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapa, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word waro:kupa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

[49] [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bə is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in *197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its 285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 301 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.

154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pərega:nsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi'.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pũlũ.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsa', i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okõi-yeupə, i.e. "make-bones." — and other similar descriptive phrases.
[304] 161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa'.
162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 291 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo', (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-Grũnberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 *197 291 177 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grũnberg) kamizhale. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam) huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam) guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 *197 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku) — tien-ak[illegible]i. Taurepán (Koch-Grũnberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

[50] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 291 167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

*192 291 177 168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general.)

*192 *197 291 173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamũi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pũgamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[301] 175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292] 176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854] 177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293] 178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314 e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386 179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

[197] 180. *karõi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

[51] [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b - Analysts

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[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192 *197 386 181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824] 182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-ta. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824] 183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439] 184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302] 185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 283 f. Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei. a.

*[197] 188. Fine native cotton thread — asei. a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

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[52] [see footnote on p. 312, category 113 - Analyst]

*192 *197 824 285 189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mana:le (= mana:re). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "cassava sifter" (called pangai' in Kamarakoto and panga' in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana.... used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285 191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawai'. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimo'. Compare tsimui', No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsa' -epicha'. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352 g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-ka:limi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — ɛtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoi'. Taurepán, apono, pono'.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apou. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — paka:ri.

*192 [283] [412] 198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsa'. gatsa' probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[see footnote on p 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 200. Mirror — *unamari*. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[276] 201. Cigar — *tamõi-koneasa'* (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — *kachimba*. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — *tarabichi*, *tərapichi*. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — *vatea*. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 *197 412 439 205. *Ax (steel) — *waka*. Taurepán, *waka*. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

206. *Knife (steel) — *mari:a*. Taurepán, *tawora*. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) *malia* (i.e., *maria*). Makuchi (Williams) *a-tau-wa-ra*. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) *maria*.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — *kutsupara*. Taurepán, *kasu:para*.[54]

*192 *197 342 h. Houses, etc.

208. *House in general, roofed structure — *tapũi*. Taurepán, *õuta*, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) *tapoi* (or *tapəi*). Makuchi (Williams) *u-tə'*, "house," *u-y-e-wu*, "my house," *ta-pui* "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the *õuta-utə* root for "house" and apply the *tapui* root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures *tapũi* that are *õuta* (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type *muna*, *monta*, *motu*, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably *-mota* of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — *tapũi-timeakɛn*.

210. Quadrangular house — *wata*. (For words usually used in allied dialects are *parapan*, below.)

211. — with walls — *wata-timeakɛn*.

212. — without walls — *vata-imedapun*.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — *kalabo:so*. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto *kalabo:so* is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 342 214. *Circular house — waipa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tuku:yipan (with sibilant y). Makuchi (Roth, cited by Williams) tukuchpang. Akawai (and others, de Goeje) tukushipan. de Goeje suggests that tukushipan, etc., means "like a humming bird."

215. *Elongate house with semicircular ends[55] — parapan. Taurepán ([illegible]-Grünberg) pa:ʾlapan, "quadrangular house" (which would be called wata in Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, cited in Williams) parakapang, "elliptical house," but Appun gives paracapang as "quadrangular house" — probably it is used for both among these Indians. Williams suggests derivation from Makuchi paranka, "letter," "plank?," and de Goeje from paraka (etc.), "pheasant," both of which seem to me highly improbable.

*192 216. Wall — (i)medan.

342 217. Roof — (i)murun.

218. Door (the opening) — munata.

219. *Door (a mat or boards to close the opening) — tapera. This is probably from the Spanish "tabla," compare Makuchi (Williams) tapara, given as synonymous with the Spanish "tabla." In the Kamarakoto word the a is shorter than is usual for the penultimate vowel, a mere glide to separate -pr- (= -bl-) which Kamarakotos cannot pronounce.

220. Thresh-hold — munata-den.

*192 *197 i. Transportation.

221. *Trail — eima, yeima. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ɛ́ma, ɛʾma. Makuchi (Williams) e-ma. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)yɛ́ma, (u)yɛʾma. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg hɛ:ma. Cumanagoto (Adam) echema — many of the more distantly related dialects have the word more or less in this form. It is not clear whether ech- is a prefix or ema reduced.

222. Bridge — muineũ, tuna-muineũ-pu, "bridge over water."

*192 *197 501 223. *Canoe — kan.wa, kanhwa. Taurepán, kan.wa, kanoa. Makuchi (Williams) ka-na-wa. This is the Carib word, occurring in practically every dialect (cf. Adam No. 65), which has been adopted into most European languages, English "canoe" Spanish "canoa," etc. Forms like the Makuchi, with three syllables, are most common. The loss of the middle syllable is definitely perceptible in Kamarakoto by the otherwise anomalous lack of velarization of the n

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[55] [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b – Analyst]

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before *w* and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — *kuriyara*. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adapted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally *kanawa* (etc.) means any kind of boat and *kuriyara* (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the *kuriyara* and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word *kan. wa* which, to them, is virtually a synonym of *kuriyara*.

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225. Paddle — *kan. wa-pa:re*.

226. Man's carrying frame — *wayare*.

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j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — *kamai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kama:yen*.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — *lue*, *lwe*, *rue*. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of *lue* — *kaikara*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaikala*, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — *nau-nau*.

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231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — *kacho*. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — *maraka*. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

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233. *Drum — *sambura*. Taurepán, *sambura*. Makuchi (Williams) *sanbu-ra sambura*. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau *samhola*, in Shiriana *sambo:ra*, and in Maku *sambula*. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.
237. tukũiʔ. Literally "humming bird."
238. warepan.
239. warepan — mũirepən.
240. ware.
241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari
243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okõyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.
245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.
246. head-dress — aroʔ.
247. skirt — (i) maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [756] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 776 [754] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima ~~and~~ in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛɾtmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

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a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepúi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita. i, suffix form -ta. i, e.g. Uruyen-ta. i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita. i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tuʼrita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tõʼ. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tõ, təʼ. Makuchi (Williams) təʼ.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in every-day use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: bená, tuná-bená. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

192 the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru
197 by a Kamarakoto.
823 265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription:
193 -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

103 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for con-
104 venience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In
[114] order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Apaŕaman-təpũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepuí
Murosipan-təpũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokō-kũyen-təpũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-təpũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyēn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	————
Kamarkai-barai-təpũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
Karũi-yeuku-təpũi	Karúi-yeukú-tepúi	Cerro Caraieucu
Enwarapaima-təpũi	Enuarapaimá-tepúi	Cerro Awarapaima
Aicha-təpũi	Aichá-tepúi	
Wayaraka-təpũi	Uayaraká-tepúi	Cerro Wairaka
Auyan-təpũi	Auyán-tepúi	Cerro Auyantepui
Wapi:nau-təpũi	Uapinán-tepúi	
2. Inhabited places		
Uruyen	Uruyén	Urullén[56]
Santa Marta,)	Santa Marta,)	Santamarta
or Tuaiba[57])	or Tuaibá)	
Kurun-ken	Kurún-ken	
Alewi:ba	Aleuiba	
Asakapan, or)	Asakapán, or)	Aguasacapán[58]
Abasakapan)	Abasakapán)	
Atapa-mota	Atapá-motá	
Kuwepiripan,)	Ku-uepiripán,)	
or Wepiripa)	or Uepiripá)	
Ibanamaru	Ibanamarú	Guanamarú
Kwai-paru, or)	Kuai-parú, or)	
Gwai-paru)	Guai-parú)	
Maiba-mota, or)	Maibá-motá, or)	
Maiba-pan)	Maibá-pan)	
Peipa	Peipá	
Ipupaipun	Ipupaipún	
Ayukupai	Ayukupái	Mayucupai
Waikimba	Uaikimbá	Guarimba[59] (?)
Ura-kupai	Urá-kupái	
Ben:	Benné	
Amidan	Amidán	
Abara-paru	Abará-parú	
Wadekupai	Wadekupái	
Itõikupai	Itoikupái	
Oyuwopatõi	Oyu-uopatói	
Pũleũkepa	Puleukepá	
Atabar[60]	Atabár	
Kapin	Kapín	
Araubai	Araubái	

56-60 [see footnotes on pp 312-13, category 116 - Analyst]

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
3. Streams and rivers		
Aicha	Aichá	Haicha[61]
Yuruan	Yuruán	Urullén[62]
Akanan	Akanán	Acanán
Karoni	Karoní, or Caroní[63]	Caroni
Karazo	Karáo	Carrao[64]
Kuana	Kuaná	Uana
Kapin	Kapín	______
4. Regions, sabanas		
Kamara-ta	Kamarata	Camarata[65]
Akanamũin-ta	Akanamũin-ta	______
Uruyen-ta. i	Uruyén-tai	______
Yuruan-ta. i	Yuruán-tai	______
Chikoroka-ta. i	Chikoroká-tai	______
Kumba-ta. i	Kumbá-tai	______
Taba-munen-ta. i[66]	Tabá-munén-tai	______

Animals.

825 a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

*197 825 269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i. e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i. e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. /Arawak (de Goeje) yawali/.

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters). Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may refer rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

*61-66 [see footnotes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analyst]

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species of fish-otter, but Williams gives it as a kind of frog. Taurepán aparõwa seems to be the same word but here too, it is uncertain whether the water opossum or an otter is meant. Koch-Grünberg also gives awa:lipoka in Taurepán and calls it a fish-otter.

272. Bat, Spanish "murcielago," all genera and species — Kamarakoto record lost.[67] Taurepán, mariba, given by Koch-Grünberg as mali:pa. He also gives Kuɭɛdnan mali:pa as "vampyre," but, as he notes, this means "large bat" and it is description, not nomenclature. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) ma:lupaʼ. Makuchi, (Williams) marapa.

273. Monkey, Spanish "mono," mainly Cebus spp., some others probably included — ibarga. Taurepán ibarga, (Koch-Grünberg) iwa:leka. My informants distinguished only two monkeys, this and the following, and probably included a variety of small monkeys under this name. Other tribes, as shown especially by Williams and by de Goeje, distinguish five or ten kinds of monkeys, and it is possible that there are Kamarakotos who know other names for particular sorts of small monkeys.

274. Howling monkey, local Spanish "araguato," Alouatta sp. — arauta. Taurepán, arauta. Makuchi (Williams) a-rau-ta. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) arahuata (i.e. arawata). Kalina, and others, (de Goeje) aluata. The same root appears in various non-Carib languages, but apparently by borrowing from the Carib. This word, in some form like the Cumanagoto, is the origin of the local Spanish name, and, in some form like the Kaliña, of the scientific name.

275. Three-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Bradypus tridactylus, — kwaran. Taurepán, kuaran, kuwaran. Makuchi (Williams) ku-wa-ran, defined as Choloepus, but with the note that Schomburgk defined it as Bradypus. There has been much confusion in the European use of these native names, but there is no question that the Kamarakotos use the names as here given, and it is likely that these are the correct Carib usages in general.

276. Two-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Choloepus didactylus, — nupi. Taurepán, nupi. Makuchi (Williams) te-nu-pi.

277. Great anteater, local Spanish "oso palmero" ("palm bear"), Myrmecophaga tridactyla, — waremɛ. Taurepán, waremɛ. Makuchi (Williams) ta-ma-no-wa. Variants of this latter root occur in several Carib dialects but

[67] [see footnote on p. 214, category 116 - Analyst]

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probably are borrowed from Tupi (or "Lingoa geral") tamandua.[68] There is some confusion in the linguistic literature between this and the next species, but the Kamarakotos and Taurepánes certainly apply wareme only to Myrmecophaga.[69]

278. Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero" ("ant bear"), Tamandua tetradactyla, — woiwo. Taurepán, woiwo. Makuchi (Williams) woi-wa.[70] This may apply also to Cyclopes, which we did not see and which the Indians did not recognize from descriptions but which must occur in this region.

279. Nine-banded armadillo, local Spanish "cachicamo," Dasypus novemcinctus, — atsi:gamo. Taurepán, kaiʼkan. Makuchi (Williams) kai-kan. Kaikan, etc., is obviously the central Carib word and the Kamarakoto atsi:gamo is cognate with the colloquial Spanish "cachicamo." Rather than supposing that the Kamarakoto borrowed from the Venezuelan Spanish, it is necessary to conclude that "cachicamo" came from some Indian dialect, probably now extinct, and that atsi:gamo is independently borrowed from the same or an allied dialect without passing through a Spanish form. Its antepenult long i is phonetically peculiar.

280. Cabassou, (local Spanish not recorded), Cabassous, probably C. unicinctus, — merun. Taurepán, muʼruʼ. Kaliña (de Goeje) kapasi. Outside of this immediate group of dialects, variants of kapasi (kapachi, kapahi, etc.) seem to be generally used in Carib. The scientific name is probably derived from a variant of this word.[71]

281. Giant armadillo, local Spanish "cuspa," Priodontes gigas[72] — mauraima. Taurepán, mauraimɛ. Kaliña (de Goeje) manulena.

282. Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla, ardillita," Sciurus spp. (Those seen were S. aestuans). — kari. Taurepán, Kari. This may be an Arawak word, for that language has (de Goeje) kalio, while the Carib languages, Trio & Oyana, use a different root (de Goeje) meri, meli, and Kalina a third root (de Goeje) Ksi:pulu, but the data are poor as the word is given in few vocabularies.

283. Capybara, local Spanish "chigüire," Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus, — kapi:ba. Taurepán, paruena. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paulina. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kapi:wa. Makuchi

68-72 [see footnotes on pp. 314-15, category 116 - Analyst]

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, ura:na. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

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285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

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286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

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287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urare'. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

[73] [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analyst]

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undoubtedly, as far as real, they are all mere individual variations.

291. Puma, local Spanish "león" ("lion") *Felis concolor*, — *kutsaribara*. Taurepán, *kusariwara*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*.

292. Ocelot, local Spanish "cunavara," "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*, — *marakada*. Taurepán, *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje), *marakaya*.

293. Fox, Spanish "zorro," probably *Cerdocyon thous*. — *maikan*. Taurepán, *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *mai-kan*, "*Canis cancrivorous*." The animal was not taken and the identification is uncertain.

294. Bush-dog, *Icticyon* sp. — *yaiʼ* (*y* very close, almost *daiʼ*). Taurepán, *yaiʼ* (or *daiʼ*).

295. Dog, Spanish "perro" — *pero*. Taurepán, *arimõraga*. The Taurepán word is native Carib and appears in various guises in most dialects but the Kamarakotos use their version of the Spanish word.[74]

296. Coati, local Spanish "zorro guacho" ("lone fox"), Nasua (sens. cat.) sp. — *ibarwana*. Taurepán, *iwarwana*. This identification is uncertain. The animal is probably not the coati, strictly speaking, but probably is a procyonid of that general sort.

297. Otter, local Spanish "perro de agua" ("water-dog"), "nutria," *Lutra* sp., — *saro*. Taurepán, *saroʼ*. (See also No. 270.)

298. Tapir, local Spanish "danta," *Tapirus americanus*, — *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*, *waila*. Makuchi (Williams) *wai-ra*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *waila*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipuri*. Both roots appear to be Carib but this is a case in which the Kamarakoto word is not shared by any of the more closely allied tribes.

299. Savannah deer, Spanish "venado" *Odocoileus* sp. (probably *gymnotis*), — *waikin*. Taurepán, *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *wai-kin*.

300. Brocket, (local Spanish not recorded; Spanish-speaking Indians called it "venado de monte," "wood deer"), *Mazama americana*, — *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusaːri*, *usaːri*. Makuchi (Williams) *u-sa-ri*. Kalina (de Goeje) *kusali*.

301. Collared peccary, local Spanish "cháchar0," *Tayassu tajacu*, — *pakira*. Taurepán, *pakira*. Makuchi, *pa-ra-ka*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *pakiːla*, Cumanagoto (Adam) *vaquira* (i.e. *bakira*). Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Note the interesting metathesis in the Makuchi form of this

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[74] [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi. nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyingə, po. inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po. inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po. i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

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304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnomə. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyingə) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" = Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — woʼra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʼ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

[75] [see footnote on p.315, category 116 – Analyst]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waku:wa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ma:luʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroi:bo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõ:lema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg). palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiõld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiõld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 365, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word *karaka*, *kalaka*, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the *owl* (not fowl) *koro:toiko*, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, *kariwana* and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. *Supara*, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" *sapukaya*, *zapugala*, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán *kalicho* have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the *kalaka* groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing *wariˀ*, "female," and *warato*, "male," to *köroitoko*.

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(b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — *kurun*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kurun*, "white-headed vulture."

325. •Small green parrot — *kaikai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaikai*, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) *kai-kai*, "Hahn's macaw, *Ara hahni* (or perhaps *Conurus nobilis*)."

326. •Another, smaller parrot — *kürikürі*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kilikili*, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) *ki-ri-ki-ri*, "all-green parrot, *Brotogeris tirica*."

327. •Large parrot with red feathers — *wadara* (quite distinct from *wadaura*). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *waya:ra* (*y* sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) *wa-tha-ra*, "scarlet macaw, *Ara macao*."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — *wadaura*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *wadaura* (*d* fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. •Hummingbird — *tukuiˀ*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tukui*, "hummingbird."

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330. •"Chupacacao" — *kadau-kadau.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kodo:kodo,* "anu-like bird."

331. •"Ancoreta" — *oimi.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *woimeʼ,* "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."

332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of *Maichaʼ*) — *kurinata.*

333. •"Guardacamino" — *tabaru.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tawalu,* "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) *tawara,* "*Podager nacunda,* the Nacunda nighthawk."

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c. *Reptiles.*

334. *Snake (in general) — *okõi.* Taurepán, *õkõi.*

335. Tiger-snake — *paraurata.*

336. Boa — *aura.*

337. Rattlesnake — *tsakasaʼ.*

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. *pararaipu.*

339. *saroraima,* poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).

340. *kamaritse.*

341. *kamaitaparu.*

342. *Wood tortoise — *adamori.* Taurepán, *wadamori.*

343. Sabana tortoise — *karume.*

344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — *pei.* Taurepán, *pi-tura.*

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — *enwaraʼ.*

346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — *ayamaka.*

347. "Mato" — *waim tsa.*

348. "Mato de agua" — *sęrębai.*

349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — *ari-kapa.*

350. Common house-lizard — *okopiʼ.*

351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — *aka:re.* Taurepán, *akare,* (Koch-Grünberg) *yaka:re.* This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages. [192]

352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — *kura:tu.* Taurepán, *kura-tu.*

d. *Amphibians.*

353. Frog — *waroma.* Taurepán, *waroʼma.*

354. Toad — *pōlę:a* (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written *pōlęa*). Taurepán, *pōreu-tukuʼ.*

[78] [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

825 262 e. Fishes.

355. Fish (in general) — moro'.

The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara. — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. uru:yi. — Interpreted as "rayado," a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako. — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa. — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil, Arapaima sp.

360. kapauri. — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipirai'.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

*197 825 f. Invertebrates.

363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiya'.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. *Ant — atsimika. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mika, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mika. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. *Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaiba', kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaiba', kaiba'-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. *Fly — berbε'. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. *Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. *Mosquito — matsa'. Taurepán, masa'.

370. *Termite — muna'. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. *Dragonfly — pirmo, pirəmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pi:lumo'.

372. *Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau, (Koch-Grünberg)

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awa:kepalu. "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai. (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakan, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsan-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwaminem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku, (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatɛʔ.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timiʔ.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)ma.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kōsɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kōsɛ. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlūcha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen. (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyamá"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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[79] [see footnote on pp 315-16, category 11b - Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety ?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety ?).

395. *Large variety — tsigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaime.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta ?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

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So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

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402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

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403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anaiʔ.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʔ

407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʔ

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Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:ʼ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛʼ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛʼ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question. [193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiʼ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛʼ, gwai-yɛʼ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛʼ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛʼ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛʼ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaʼ-yɛʼ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛʼ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

824 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛʼ (for ura:pa-yɛʼ. "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛʼ.

428. Canjilón — pori:tadɛʼ (for pori:ta-yɛʼ).

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoiʼ (-yɛʼ).

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛʼ.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛʼ (for purwei-yɛʼ cf. purwe-yɛʼ, above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛʼ, but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛʼ (i.e. "flute-wood").

* [197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛʼ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛʼ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaɛdɛ, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛʼ (for tsimaran-yɛʼ).

437. Cedro^{80} — kopei-dyɛʼ (for kopei-yɛʼ).

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛʼ (for yuma-yɛʼ).

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛʼ, waidawaurai-yɛʼ.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛʼ.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paunɛdɛʼ (for paune-yɛʼ).

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

* [197] 444. Grass — wanaʼ. Taurepán, wanaʼ.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛʼ. The wood is used for the foreshaft of arrows.

824
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Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits: -

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

[80] [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 – Analyst]

874 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — abaʼ.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.

(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

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821

Nature, Time.

456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wüi, wei.
457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə, (Koch-Grünberg) waːlupə.
461. *Cloud — katuriʼ. Taurepán, katuʼruʼ.
462. *Shy — kaʼ. Taurepán, kaʼ.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — konoʼ. Taurepán, konoʼ.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*197 823 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woroʼ. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woroʼ appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 *197 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesaʔ (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesaʼ (konoʼ = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kooméyaʼ.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

*192 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekũiˀ or bekwiˀ (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).
805
[211]

[823] There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.
475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.
476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).
477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.
478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) łor-ri-wa, "green or light blue."
479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which -coutoume is cognate with -kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakȫ, wakȫrə. "Handsome man" — wakȫr warato moine.
481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.
482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.
483. Hot — ikōyin, ikōina.
484. Cold — komiˀ.
485. Strong — merundə̀.
486. Weak — apaumun.
487. Sick — ene:(pe)

*192 488. Big — *kaipun.* cf. Makuchi (Williams) *o-kai.* (In comparison, it might seem that *kaipun* is privative and might mean "small" but it is certainly the Kamarakoto word for "large.")

489. Many — *tukango,* e.g. *waratoken tukango,* "many men."

490. Small — *nomboron,* "small man."

491. Tasty, good (of flavor) — *kanə.*

492. Ignorant, unskilled — *putapun.*

493. Alone (or "only" — used as an adverb) — *leukin.*

494. Poor — *tuwari.*

495. Empty — *yembə.*

496. Twisted — *katsaʔ.*

497. Satisfied, contented — *autsim(be).*

Pronouns.

*192 *193 a. Disjunctive (free) personal pronouns. These are the forms used when the pronoun is out of context or is not prefixed to a following word.

498. First person singular — *yura.* Etymologically this is probably the conjunctive *(y)u-* plus the particle *-ra.*

499. Second person singular — *amaure.* This may be the conjunctive *a-* plus likewise conjunctive *mau-* (for *-mo-*, *-mõ-*), plus the particle *-re* = *-ra.*

Third person singular — no true disjunctive personal form was identified. Demonstratives are used instead.

500. First person plural — *ina.*

Second person plural — no true disjunctive personal form was surely identified. Demonstratives are generally used instead, but *mõtsən* (see below) might be considered a personal form.

501. Third person plural — *toʔ.*

*193 b. Conjunctive (incorporated) personal pronouns). These are forms used as prefixes to nouns, verbs, etc., or as suffixes to verbs, to denote possession, object, subject, etc., or as elements in demonstratives, etc. They never occur independently, although they may be used with postpositions of their own as separate words.

502. First person singular — *u-*, frequently with an intervening *-y-* when the following letter is a vowel, e.g. *upupai* "my head" (*pupai-to,* "head"), *uyepi,* "my lips" (*epi-to,* "lips").

503. Second person singular — *a-*, frequently with *-y-*, rarely *-b-*, before a vowel, e.g., *apupai,* "thy head," *ayepi,* "thy lips," *abendana,* "thou eatest" (*endana,* "eat").

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504. m-, mo-, mõ-, mu-. This form, observed only with verbs, apparently refers to the second person either in singular or plural.

505. Third person singular — i-, frequently with -t- before vowels, e.g., ipupai, "his, her, or its head," itepi, "his, her, or its lips," but regarding this -t- see below.

506. n-, no-, nə-. This third person form has the same status as the second person m-, etc., which see. It may occur with verbs in a double pronominal prefix, e.g. un- = u-, "I," subject of verb, + -n-, "it," object of verb.

507. First person plural — ina, the same as the disjunctive form, is commonly used also conjunctively.

508. -nokon. This was observed only as a suffix expressing the subject of a verb, without -ya.

Second person plural — m-, etc., appears to be used in the plural as well as the singular. No special second person plural form was detected.

509. Third person plural — toᵓ, sometimes for euphony to, the same as the disjunctive form, is also used conjunctively.

n-, etc., is also used in the plural.

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c. Demonstrative pronouns. Judging from the best-known allied dialects, demonstratives may be numerous in Kamarakoto and these appear to be combinations of conjunctive personal pronouns and particles.[81] The following are the principal words actually heard and my interpretation of their possible etymology — this interpretation is inevitably uncertain.

510. n:orõ, "he, she, it; that person or thing yonder." Probably = n + norõ and norõ, in turn, may be pronominal no- + the particle -rõ.

511. in:ərə, meaning apparently the same as n:orõ. Probably = i + n + nərə, and nərə may be nə- (= no-) + -rə (= rö).

512. n:amorə, "That person or thing (near you?)." Probably = n + na + morə, and mõrə may be mo- + the particle -rə, but I do not recognize the function or meaning of -na- in this compound.

513. mõtsan, "you (there)." Probably mõ- (for m — before a consonant) + -tsən, a particle not otherwise identified. This may be more nearly a true personal pronoun than a demonstrative. Examples of use are in the plural.

514. mõtsamorə, "y[illegible] yonder (there where you are)." Probably mõ- (= m-) + -tsa- (= -tsan) + -morə (as in n:amor) which may be mo- + -rə. Examples of use are in the plural.

[81] [see footnote on p.31b, category 11b - Analyst]

*193 d. Reflexive pronouns.

515. te-, t-. This conjunctive form is reflexive in the sense of referring to the subject of the sentence, e.g. teumo "his son (son of the person who is being mentioned as doing something)."82

Verbs.

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*193 It is impractical to attempt to reduce the verbs recorded to a standard form and they are given as they were encountered in contexts. What is believed to be the stem form is set off by placing parentheses around the added prefixes and suffixes.

516. Eat — endana. "(I) eat.......eats."
517. Want to eat — endana-pai, endanapai. "(I) want to eat."
518. Drink — enə. "(I) drink.......drinks."
519. Want to drink — anɛmbai. "(I) want to drink. ......is thirsty, etc."
520. Drink (intoxicants), or become drunk — (i)etari(ba). "He is drinking, or is drunk."
521. Sleep — ɛˀ(-moron). "(I) sleep."
522. Want to sleep — wenumbai. "(I) am sleepy."
523. Walk — etame. "(I) walk, travel, go."
524. Swim — sururupe. "(I) swim."
525. Live, be alive — panape, in pero panape. "The dog is alive."83
526. Die — yɛtɛka "..... is dying."
527. Go — utɛ(dai) "(I) am going (am in the act of doing so now)."
528. Twist, bend, weave — ka(tsaˀ). "twisted, etc." (participial; ka may be an apocopated stem form).
529. Grasp — karo. Given out of context and explained as "to grasp with the fingers around an object, such as a stick." This is probably the base stem form.
530. Hold — paõkɛ (stem uncertain), in kawai paõkɛ uyepũi. "I have come holding the trumpet" ("trumpet holding I came").
531. Come — (u)ye(pui). "I came, have come." yeu(pũi) "......are coming."
532. Come — (a)chi(kə). "come here!" (not heard in any other phrase).
533. Come (to a place, visiting) — ade(-polu[illegible]ɛ). "(I) have come visiting (to here)." (The construction is not clear).
534. Get up (from bed), go or come out — (u)paga. "get up! come out!" (imperative). (ide)paka(pə). "he came out."
535. Find, encounter — epo (lupui-ya). "(he) found."
536. Give — (i)depa(pə). "he gave." The stem is probably repa, with the r- becoming (open) d after i.

82, 83 [see footnotes on p. 316, category 11b – Analyst]

*192 537. Advise, teach, show — erupa(poyɛ). "(he) advised."

*193 538. Empty — anoka(põtipə). "......emptied."

539. Gather, take out, collect — anumbatu(põyɛ). "......gathered." anumu(pə). "......gathered." The basic root is probably anu- or anum- but anumbatu appears also to be used as a verb stem.

540. Know — putu. "......knows."

541. Make, do — koneka. "I make, ...does."

542. Sound (as a rattle) — sakauma-nõi (stem uncertain), in maraka-i sakawma-noi. "I sound the rattle."

543. See, visit? — ene(se), in yeupũi .... enese. "are coming (in order) to see, visit."

544. Kill — ereukai (stem uncertain), in yeupũi......ereukai. "are coming (in order) to kill."

545. Wash (gold) — koka(-toʼ) in watea woroʼ koka-toʼ. "a batea (gold-pan) to wash gold."

546. Want, desire — numbai, -mbai. This verb was not observed except as a suffix or more or less fused postposition to other verbs making them desiderative, but it is tentatively listed here as a verbal element whose meaning is constant and not analogous to mere tense or mood suffixes. It is equivalent to or includes the verbal suffix — pai.

Be (also auxiliaries, etc.) — The system of auxiliaries and of verbs best translated as forms of "to be" is very complex in Kamarakoto, as in all Carib dialects, and I cannot fully elucidate it, but can only give a few forms recorded in phrases.

*193 547. daiʼ, edai, edaiʼ, e.g. endana-pai pura edai, "(I) do not want to eat," ("want-to-eat not (I) am"), utɛdai (for utɛ edai), "(I) am going" (go (I) am"), autsimbe daiʼ, "(I) am satisfied."

548. man. This verb is usually used in the third person where edai, etc., would be used in the first person singular and hence might be considered a form of the conjugation of the same verb, but the roots are so obviously different that it might also be considered that there are two different imperfect verbs: e.g., ene:pe man, "(he) is sick," but ene:pe edaiʼ, "(I) am sick."

549. põʼman, pouman. These probably grammatically identical variants may be a combination of põ, as a particle of some sort, and man, but the combination is used as if it were a unified verb, e.g. etamen põʼman, "(he) is walking" ("to

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walk, or in the act of walking, (he) is"). *auyukana pōuman*, "(it) is dawning" ("dawn is being").

550. *pōʔ.* There are various suffixes and the like that resemble this word, and it usually seems not to fulfill any verbal function in the sentence from the European point of view, but in the following phrase, at least, it is difficult to see how it can be anything but verbal: *warato endana woto-pun pōʔ* "the man is eating meat" ("man eating, or eats, meat is").

551. *ɛ̨pəti(pə)*. This more frequent and surely verbal form may be a more highly compounded form of the last word; note the more evidently related Taurepán forms (Koch-Grünberg) *ɛ̨-pə* (or *ɛ̨-pō* — he generally uses the same symbol for these, to me, different sounds) and *ɛ̨-pə-teʔ-pə*. E.g. *maichaʔ ɛ̨pʔtipə putapun*, "Maichak was ignorant," *teumo-dakarə leukin yepətipą*, "he had only his son with him" ("his (own) son — with alone he was").

552. *medan*. This may be the second person equivalent of *edai* and *man*. E.g. *we-numbai medan*, "art thou sleepy?" ("to want to sleep art (thou)").

553. *(y)etsi(pə)*, e.g. *putu pura yetsip*, "he did not know" ("know not he was"). A different form *(n)itsi* of the same verb is seen in *konekapəʔ-tauʔ nitsi*, "he was making" (more or less literally "having-been-making, he-is").

Miscellaneous.

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Here are gathered some postpositions, particles, a few nouns, etc., with nothing in common except that they do not fit well into the other categories and do not seem to warrant making distinct sections for them.

554. Yes — *ina*.

555. No — *ake*. (But Kamarakotos seldom say "no" flatly, usually answering by a dubious or qualified "yes.")

556. Not — *pura*, *pōla*. This is not used independently but only after a verb to place it in the negative.

557. Then (thereupon, or after that) — *morɛ̨-popɛ̨*.

558. Then (forthwith) — *marōdau*.

559. For some time, during an unspecified period of time — *mono-pɛ̨*.

560. With (accompanied by) — -*dakarə*, used as a postposition, e.g. *teumo-dakarə*, "with his (own) son."

561. Without (lacking, -less) — -*pun*. Used as a postposition or privative suffix, e.g. *imedapun*, "without a wall, wall-less."

562. To (motion toward) — -*poirə*. Used as a postposition, e.g. *uruyen-poirə utɛupai*, "I am going (will go) to Uruyen."

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563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g.
tuna-wapai. "out from the water."
564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pę. Used as a postposition.
e.g. iwoto-pę, "like an animal."
565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.
566. Method, means of use — (it)ętsera.
567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.
101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly
correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.
569. Arekuna.
570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the
Mayongones or Maquiritares.

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773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoi' — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana
or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.
572. Karosiai — from the Gran Sabana.
573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.
574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.
575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.
576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Atito.

Grammar

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114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [197] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*193 footing as augmentatives, privatives, etc., not ordinarily thought of as involved in declension. Ordinarily these postpositions do not change the form of the root, but occasionally they do for simple phonetic reasons, e.g. imedan, "wall," but imedapun, "without a wall."

The plural is formed by several suffixes of which the most common are -kon or -gon and -ton or -don, e.g. warato, "man," plural waratokon, uyetse, "my brother-in-law," plural uyetseton. The plural ending is not rigidly required if not necessary to avoid confusion. It may, for instance, be used when the noun is modified by a number or by an adjective of quantity, but is then commonly omitted. Names of inanimate objects rarely have a plural form.

The nominative, genitive, and accusative of Indo-European grammar are not ordinarily indicated by postpositions but by syntax with the noun left in its absolute or non-inflected form. The basic word order is subject-object-verb and modifier — thing modified. When this order is simply followed, the relationship of the nouns are generally clear without the use of special suffixes. There are, however, forms used in cases of inversion or possible confusion that I can only interpret as involving nominative and accusative suffixes. Thus in the sentence wai-kɛ pemon-ya idepapə, "the man gave him a gourd," -kɛ specifies the thing given and -ya the giver. In woto-pun-pɛ endana daiʔ, "I am eating meat," -pɛ seems to have the same function, however one cares to designate or to translate it: it sets woto-pun off as the object and not as the subject or modifier of endana.

A virtual genitive, more accurately described as an adjectival form, is obtained simply by placing one noun before another, for instance, in such forms as piricha-yeuku, "juice of the yam," which is rendered, as is also so common in English, by saying literally "yam-juice." Expressions like uma-yeima, "farm-trail," i.e. the trail to the farm-patch (conuco), depart still farther from the idea of a genitive in our sense and yet are in absolutely the same construction in Kamarakoto. Often the first noun in this construction can only be translated by an adjective or by an adjectival clause, e.g. moroʔ-tuna "fish-water" means "fishy water" or "water containing fishes." Kamarakoto is characterized by a very large number of this sort of compound nouns, as will be noted even in running over the preceding vocabulary, and they can be coined almost at will, making the language both flexible and succinct.

Like other Carib dialects, Kamarakoto has what might almost be called a possessive pronominal declension of nouns which may become quite complicated and may even involve changes in the stem of the noun. The basic form of this pseudo-declension involves these prefixes:

1st Person, u-, uy-, e.g. upupai, "my head," uyeuna, "my nose."
2nd Person, a-, ay-, e.g. apupai, "thy head," ayeuna, "thy nose."
3rd Person, i-, it-, e.g. ipupai, "his, her, its head," iteuna, "his, her, its nose."

*193 811 This is so thoroughly a part of Kamarakoto psychology and indeed of Carib psychology in general that it is difficult for them to think of things that are normally possessed simply as objects at large without regard to possession, an instance of the specificity often characteristic of primitive languages in general. In some dialects this goes so far that one cannot say, for instance, "a head" but must say "the head of someone or something," an unpossessed head appearing to these Indians as an impossibility and possession requiring expression. The Kamarakotos, however, do use unpossessed forms even for parts of the body but in this case the lack of possession must be indicated. "A head," not specified as possessed by someone, is not pupai but pupai-to and -to is used with virtually all words for parts of the body to indicate lack of possession.

*193 In a few exceptional cases the possessed form of a noun instead of dropping a suffix acquires one, e.g. mari:a, "knife," but umari.arõ "my knife," waka, "ax," but uwakari, "my ax."

In other cases there occur changes that perhaps have arisen in simple ways analogous to the above but that nevertheless are now true stem changes indistinguishable in type from those of the inflected forms of Indo-European languages, e.g. mumun, "son," but umo, "my son," kami, "hammock," but ukaimi, "my hammock." Analogous examples are given in Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán vocabulary, in which he gives possessed forms of many nouns.84

The Kamarakoto noun is without gender. Natural sex is expressed for human beings by the use of different words for the two sexes (see "Vocabulary" and "Relationship Concepts and Words"). There do not appear to be any animals with different names for the two sexes or for the young, but the words waroto, "man," wariʼ, "woman," and murę, "child," can be suffixed if the distinction is essential, e.g. kõroitoko, "domestic fowl," kõroitoko-warato, "rooster," kõroitoko-wariʼ, "hen," kõroitoko-murę, "chick."

The Adjective.

Except as may be inherent in the meaning of the word, there is no clear distinction between nouns and adjectives in Kamarakoto. Thus "red" is an adjective, because there must always be something modified, the object that is red,85 but the same word can mean "fish" and "fishy," or "strength" and "strong," etc. Aside from forms that are best translated as adjectives but that really are parts of verbs, I did not encounter any special adjectival suffixes or any stem changes between a noun and its corresponding adjective.

The adjective normally precedes the noun modified, as in English and unlike Spanish, but they may also follow, particularly words of quantity or size, e.g. waratokon tukangoʼ, "many men" (literally "men many"), tuna kaipun, "large stream" (literally "water-big").

84, 85 [see footnotes on p. 316, category 116 - Analyst]

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Comparison of adjectives may be expressed as in this example:

tuwari	itetsɛ̨ton	tuwari-dō
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor —(than), i. e. poorer than his brothers-in-law.

A predicate adjective may simply precede or follow the noun, with no verb, e.g. wakōrə woto-pun means either "good meat" or "the meat is good," or it may precede a "substantive" verb, in which case it sometimes has the suffix -be, e.g. autsim-be daiˀ, "(I) am satisfied," or it may follow such a verb, generally then without -be, e.g. maichaˀ pətipə tuwari, "Maichak was poor."

The Pronoun.

The definitions and discussions in the Vocabulary represent the Kamarakoto pronoun sufficiently for this summary discussion. Its principal peculiarities are that it is basically demonstrative in at least two persons (third singular and second plural — and possibly the others have or had originally a demonstrative element) and that it has a set of conjunctive forms which are intimately united with nouns, as these are actually used, as well as verbs (see below).

The Verb.

The Carib verb is extremely complex and Kamarakoto yields nothing to the other dialects in this respect. It is conjugated (a) by conjunctive pronoun prefixes and postpositions indicating subject and object, (b) by a large number of suffixes usually with some temporal significance, but also modal, adjectival, nounal, etc., and (c) by the use of auxiliary verbs. Unlike the adjective, the verb is distinctly a separate and definable part of speech. Its stem form always indicates an independent act or state of some sort and the forms that can be used or at least translated as nouns or adjectives are formed by suffixes and still are predominately verbal in sense, felt as parts of a verb rather than strictly as in the noun-adjective category. This may, for instance, be seen by the fact that true adjectives generally precede the modified noun, whereas participial forms of verbs used as modifiers commonly follow the noun and may be placed in a position normal for a verb.

Verbal stems are approximately invariable, but simple phonetic changes are often induced by prefixes and suffixes and these occasionally produce a pseudo-inflection, as in the nouns. It differs, however, from true inflection, in that it is never functional: it does not in itself indicate a modified meaning. E.g. ɛ̨ˀ-moron, "(I) am sleeping," and we-numbai, "(I) am sleepy," show stem changes ɛ̨ˀ — and we — but in either form the stem has the same meaning and it is only qualified by context and suffixes.

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The conjunctive pronouns given in the vocabulary are used in connection with verbs as well as with nouns. With nouns they indicate possession, but with verbs they indicate either the subject or object of the action. Thus three pronominal cases so radically different in Indo-European grammar, nominative, possessive, and accusative, may be formally identical in Kamarakoto with only the context to show the correct translation. The discrepancy appears to be in the attempt to force Carib languages into an Indo-European grammatical framework. The Carib conjunctive pronoun is not nominative, possessive, or accusative, but a single form that might be called relative, indicating in all its uses the person to whom the action is related without showing (in itself) the nature of the relationship. Thus iteuma, "his nose," means "nose with relation to the third person," iyendana, "he goes," is the present act of going with relation to the third person, and ikonekaʼ, "make it," "make (imperative form necessarily addressed to the second person) with relation to the third person." In all three of these examples i- actually has the same meaning although it must be translated into an Indo-European language in three different ways.

Conjunctive pronouns, always prefixed to nouns, may be either prefixes or suffixes with verbs. With an intransitive verb and sometimes a transitive verb with object otherwise expressed, the prefixed pronoun is the subject. With a transitive verb, the prefixed pronoun is usually the object and the subject is expressed either by a separate word or by a pronominal suffix. This suffix is normally followed by the nominative particle -ya; thus the conjunctive pronoun -u-, "I," when it follows a verb as its subject, is uya. Elision and fusion may sometimes mask the vowel values of pronouns in this position. The object of a transitive verb is never a suffix.

These conjunctive pronouns may be retained even when the subject and object are otherwise expressed, but normally they are not. The verb may also occur without any subject (or object) and is then usually taken to be in the first person. Thus endana, without context, will usually be taken to mean "I eat."

There is some suggestion that the typical or primitive verb stem was monosyllabic or bisyllabic and that most or all longer stems are in fact compounds. Whatever their origin, however, trisyllabic words used as basic verb stems are now at least as common as shorter stems, and some of four and possibly five syllables exist. There does not appear to be any formal difference by which a bare verb stem can be distinguished from that of a noun or adjective aside from its meaning.

The simple sort of pronoun plus verb stem combination is seen in the following forms of endana, the stem signifying eating.[86]

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person	endana	inandana

[86] [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 - Analyst]

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	Singular.	Plural.
2nd person	abendana	mõtsamorõ endana
3rd person	iyendana	toˀ endana

This also illustrates irregularities such as occur with most verbs as these are actually used and prevent the abstraction of a paradigm that can be applied to any verb without definite knowledge of usage. Thus uy- is omitted in the first person singular, ab- is a rare form of the second person pronoun, which is usually ay- (or a-), and iy- is more commonly it- in the third person. The plural forms must be considered as disjunctive, but in colloquial speech in the first person ina and endana fuse to make a pseudo-conjunctive, pseudo-inflected form inandana.

This bare stem form of verbs is usually translatable as a present tense of the indicative, but it signifies the action simply as occurring, without reference to relative or absolute time except by the implication that if the action were not now going on this would probably have been shown by using a suffix. With its lack of inherent temporal or modal tint, this is also the form generally used with auxiliary verbs, e. g. endana edai, "I am (engaged in the process of) eating," where endana means simply the more or less abstract process or activity and edai specifies that the speaker is engaged in it.

There is no general formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs and the same verb may be used in either way if the meaning permits. Thus in the preceding examples endana is intransitive but it may be used in the same forms with an object and then is transitive.

There is no passive voice and the idea is expressed by forms of the active verb or by circumlocutions. "He does" means just as well "is done" (by him or by someone unexpressed). If confusion arises as to whether a preceding noun is the doer or the thing done (analogous to subject of the action or of the passive verb in Indo-European grammar) this can be specified by a suffix not on the verb but on the noun, -ya indicating the doer, or active subject, and -kɛ or -pɛ the thing done, or passive subject.

Suffixes are used to express more or less the tenses and moods of Indo-European grammar, but the exact sense conveyed seldom, probably never, exactly corresponds with any one given tense of the latter sort of grammar. Strictly speaking, there are no present or future tenses. Any form that does not express completion of the action or its non-contemporaneity may be used in a way translatable as a present or future. The bare verb stem may refer to any time and is commonly used where we would use a present or future tense. Forms that indicate continuing action or action desired or intended, and hence not going on at present or completed in the past, are commonly translatable as future tenses, but I am convinced that to call them "future tenses" is to graft

*193 onto Kamarakoto (and other Carib languages) an idea really quite absent in the minds of the speakers.

Negation may be expressed by special verb forms which should probably be considered privative or prohibitive rather than negative in a strict sense. General verbal negation is expressed by the particle pura (etc.) following the verb.

An incomplete but representative list of Kamarakoto (non-pronominal) verbal affixes follows:

-i. Simple preterite, completed action.

-pə. This, the most common of all verbal suffixes, is usually translatable as a preterite. It can, however, better be considered as a suffix showing non-contemporaneity with a point of reference. Hence it indicates a past tense in the sense of showing that the action is not going on now. In this broader sense it can also be used with nouns, e.g. utapũi, "my house" (in general or now), utapũipə, "my house" (sometime, but not at the time of which I am speaking or not now). In narratives verbs in -pə are usually used for simple historic.

-pũi. A somewhat doubtful suffix perhaps related to the last. It generally designates a past tense and may be a narrative historic alternating with -pə, e.g. epolupũi-ya (probably for epolupũi-iya) "he found," used in a passage parallel with verbs in -pə, but also pemon-don yeupũi, "the Indians were coming," in which it was emphasized that the action was not complete at the time of references (which was a past time). This same word was also translated as a perfect tense, uyepũi, "I have come" (i.e. I am here now), but in connection with another action not completed.

-poyɛ, -pȭyɛ. Designating past actions. These are possibly phonetic variants of -pə -ya or -pə -i-ya, the non-contemporaneous suffix -pə +(or without) conjunctive pronoun -i- + nominative suffix -ya.

-pauya. This is probably a similar phonetic form from -pə -u-ya, a past tense in the first person singular.

-tana, -tanaʔ. This designates contemporaneous action and hence is in part the positive of which -pə is the negation. It usually refers to the present time, but also is used to show an action that proceeded or proceeds (at any time, past, present, or future) at the same time as another expressed or implied action.

-se. A continuing action, not specified as having stopped at any relative time. Since the action may continue into the future, verbs with this suffix frequently can be translated by a future tense.

*193 -pe. Dependent action. Action conditional on some other action. E.g. konekape utambai, utambai = desiderative form of ute, "go," hence more or less "let us go," konekape "make" conditionally on the other action: "let us go and (having gone) make," or "let us go and make (then, or as we go)."

-pɛ. A doubtful form, perhaps merely a variant of -pe but translated as implying continuance of an action over a period of time, not necessarily dependent on another action.

-puti, -pəta. The root equivalence of these is not certain, but they were used in different phonetic surroundings to designate the same idea, that of past continued or repetitive action, "used to do," "kept on doing....." etc., explained as "something that you often did in the past but are not doing now."

-ka. Imperative. "Do!" — here or in general.

-ta. Imperative. This is a sort of demonstrative imperative, the implication being that the action is to be performed elsewhere, more or less "go and do...."

-kə. Imperative, possibly a simple variant of -ka, but used in certain combinations, where -ka was not heard, e.g. in the common expression achikə, "come!" "come here!"

-nikə. Imperative, = -ni + -kə.

-tanikə. Imperative, = -ta + -ni + -kə. Despite the presence of -ta, the sense is not necessarily "go and do..." and may even be "come and do...." but this idea is more specifically expressed by achikə, e.g. achikə konekanikə, "come (here) and make...."

-ʔ. Imperative, noted only in konekaʔ, with which -ka is not used and is possibly replaced by this.

-pai. Translatable as desiderative, voluntative, optative, imperative or subjunctive. It has the sense of desiring to do a thing or wanting to have it done. It may also express the intention of doing a thing, and hence may be translatable by a future tense, with which it has been confused. It is, however, future not in the temporal sense but only in expressing will to do, which naturally usually refers to something not yet done. This is clearly the -bai of -mbai, etc. (= -mpai or -npai, the bilabial stop makes the nasal bilabial and the nasal makes the stop voiced), and it could be considered as an auxiliary verb rather than as a suffix. E.g. utɛupai, "I want to go, I intend or am going to go," may be utɛ, "go," and upai "I will or want to." But it also frequently fuses with another stem and is commonly taken to be a verbal suffix (e.g. by Koch-Grünberg in Taurepán) whatever its origin may be.

#193 -*dareu*. This somewhat doubtful form is apparently used in some circumstances to express the intention of doing something.

-*ima*, -*ma*. This is another form of similar voluntative or optative subjunctive or imperative sense. It can often be translated "cause to..." "may they, etc., do......" and so is used to build causative modes or essentially new causative verbs which may in turn take other suffixes.

kai-... -*i*, *ka*-... -*i*. This combination of prefix and suffix forms the negative imperative or the prohibitive, "do not do ...," etc.

-*tope*. This is a purposive form, or one expressing an end to be accomplished, "final" (as Koch-Grünberg calls the Taurepán equivalent) in this sense, not in a sense of terminal or completed action. Williams calls the Makuchi equivalent a gerund, but the Indo-European gerund could seldom be used to translate the Kamarakoto verb in -*tope*, usually renderable by some phrase with "in order to." Examples of this are connected with negation but the negative does not seem to be inherent in -*tope*; this connection is not clear.

-*kapa*. A similar purposive form, "in order to...," etc., also used as a sort of subjunctive or third person imperative, "that he do...," etc.

-*namai*. Negative purposive. Corresponding with -*tope* and -*kapa* in use but definitely negative or prohibitive.

-*saʔ*, -*saʔ*. This expresses the idea of a definitely completed action and can be translated in different contexts as an indicative preterite, as a past participle, or as an adjective. E. g. *konekasaʔ-uya*, which is an independent verb with a subject, "I made, did make (and completed)," and cannot be considered as participial, but *tamõi-konekasaʔ*, literally "tobacco made," i.e. "prepared tobacco, a cigar," which is essentially a compound noun and in which the verb with -*saʔ* is best translatable as a participle or adjective. There are many expressions of this sort in Kamarakoto. Despite the translation as an adjective, the idea is really still verbal, it is "tobacco (that) was made, tobacco (that) one or (that) I made."

-*nin*. This suffix introduces what is, in Indo-European language, a nounal concept, meaning "the doer of...," sometimes translatable as a present participle, but with its elusive properly verbal sense perhaps more fully preserved by considering it as making a form of the verb equivalent to a relative clause. E.g. *konekanin amaure*, "making thou, thou who art making." It can be used without a modified word and these must be freely

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translated by a noun, konekanin, "the maker." It implies that the action is not completed.

-təpon. This is used in the same way as -nin, but the action is completed. konekanin, "the maker (who is still making), konekatəpon, "the maker (who has completed making, or of something now made.)."

-toʔ. This is used in ways analogous to -nin and -təpon but it designates the means or instrument involved in or required for the action, rather than the active agent. konekatoʔ, "the maker (used in making)." This is not the personal pronoun toʔ.

-n. This also is used where Indo-European languages would use a verbal noun or a noun and it comes the closest of anything in Kamarakoto to being a true gerund. It signifies the act or process of doing something, e.g. endana, "eat," endanan, "the act of eating." It, however, like the other Carib so-called verbal nouns, is basically verbal, not nounal. It can be used with auxiliaries, e.g. etame, "walk," etamen pöʔman, "he is walking" ("in the act of walking is").

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[127]
As an illustrative comparison, the Kamarakoto equivalents of the partial Taurepán paradigm given by Father Baltasar de Matallana were gathered.[87] Later it was possible to compare this with Taurepán at first hand. The results of the comparison are instructive from several points of view and so are given here, obviously without any pretension of giving a complete comparison or of setting up a full or model conjugation. It should be remembered that Father Baltasar's transcription is not meant to be phonetic.

1. Verb stem and present or non-temporal indicative. Koneka.
   Taurepán, koneka, (Baltasar) koneka.
2. Indicative forms showing completion or non-contemporaneity.
   "Pretérito" of Baltasar.
   - a. konekapauya, phonetic derivative from koneka-pə-u-ya = stem + non-contemporaneous prefix pə + personal pronoun u + nominative particle ya, "I made." The simple tense form is of course konekapə. Taurepán, konekapöya = konekapə+ya, without indication of person, (Baltasar) konekapue uya, "hiciste" ("thou madest").[88]
   - b. (Not in common use by Kamarakotos who habitually replace it by the next form.) Taurepán, konekapotiʔ-uya, "I made repeatedly, used to make," (Baltasar) konekapueti-uya, "hiciste (repetidas veces)," "thou madest" (should be "I made?") " — repeatedly."

87,88 [see footnotes on pp 316-17, category 11b - Analysis]

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c. konekaputi-pauya, phonetic form from koneka-puti-pә-u-ya, "I made repeatedly, used to make" (but do not now). Simple (non-pronominal) form konekaputipә. Taurepán, konekapõtiʾ-põya, "used to make," (Baltasar) konekapuetipue-uya, "hiciste (de un todo)" "thou madest — " (should be "I made?") "— definitely."

d. chikonekai, "I made." Simple form konekai. Taurepán chikone-kai, (Baltasar) chi-koneka-i, "hice (en este momento)," "I made just now."

e. (This form is definitely absent in Kamarakoto.) Taurepán chikonekatai, (Baltasar) chi-koneka-tai, "hice (hace tiempo)," "I made some time ago."

f. konekasaʾ-uya, "I made." Simple form konekasaʾ. Taurepán konekasaʾ-uya, (Baltasar) koneka-sak-uya, "hiciste (esto mas bien es el participio transformado en mado personal)," "Thou madest" (should be "I made?"). "— This is rather the participle transformed into the personal mode." The last remark is true from a strictly European point of view, but I feel that no transformation has taken place from the Indian point of view and that konekasaʾ is a verb form which, like most others, can be used either with or without a personal pronoun subject and that can be translated at times by the indicative, at other times by a participle.

g. konekapәʾ-tauʾ-nitsi, "he was making." This is properly a compound verb (or tense of a verb): koneka-pәʾ-tauʾ, a past form of koneka here used more or less participially, + the auxiliary n-itsi, n- being the third person conjunctive pronoun as subject of the auxiliary. As nearly as a literal translation could be attempted, it might be something like "he is having been in the state of making." Taurepán, konekapә-nichi, (Baltasar) koneka - pue - n - ichi, "hizo," "he made." This is the same as the Kamarakoto form but without the suffix -tauʾ-.

3. Forms expressing desire or intention of doing or having done, voluntative, optative, imperative, etc.

a. ikonekaʾ, "make it," simple second person imperative. i- is the object pronoun and the verbal form is konekaʾ. Taurepán, ikoneka-ke, (Baltasar) i-konekake, "hazlo," "make it."

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b. *ikonekata*, "(go and) make it," "make it (there)," second person imperative with demonstrative sense. Verbal form *konekata*. Taurepán *ikoneka-ta*, (Baltasar) *i-konekata*, "vete a hacerlo," "go and make it."

c. *ikonekata-nika*, "make it," imperative with triple suffix, *-ta* + *-ni* + *-ka*, apparently demonstrative in a vague way, not necessarily explicitly "there" or "here," and not strictly "come and make it," which would be *achika* *ikonekata-nika*. As before, *i-* is the object pronoun, not strictly part of the verb. Taurepán, *ikonekata-nika*, (Baltasar) *i-konekata-neke*, "ven a hacerlo," "come and make it."

d. *ikoneka-pai-nokon*, "let us make it," with no demonstrative sense, *i-* is the object and *-nokon* the subject, the simple verbal form being only *koneka-pai*, a voluntative or optative. Taurepán, *ikoneka-pai-nikon*, (Baltasar) *i-koneka* *pai-nokon*, "vamos a hacerlo," "let us go and make it."

e. *kai-konekai*, "do not make," simple second person prohibitive (or negative imperative). Taurepán *ki-konekai*, (Baltasar) *ki-konekai*, "no lo hagas," "do not make it."

f. *toʔ-ya* *ikonekaima*, "let them, may they, have them make it," a voluntative or third person plural imperative. *toʔ-ya* is the subject and *i-* the object, the simple verb form being *konekaima*. I did not record this in Taurepán but Baltasar gives *konekaima*, which looks like the same form but which he considers to be a present gerund, "haciendo," "making," which the Kamarakoto form is not.

4. Purposive. Baltasar calls these "participios de final," "final participles."

a. *koneka-tope*, "in order to make," used in negative context, exact sense not quite clear. Taurepán, *koneka-tope*, (Baltasar) *koneka-tope*, "para hacer," "in order to make."

b. *konekapa*, "in order to make," simple purposive. Taurepán, *konekapa*, (Baltasar) *koneka-pa*, "para hacer," "in order to make."

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c. koneka-namai, "in order not to make, that .... should not make," negative purposive. Taurepán, koneka-namai . (Baltasar) koneka-namai(d), "para no hacer (negative)," "in order not to make (negative)."

5. Participial or modal forms expressing continuing action or action relative to other actions, expressed or implied. Baltasar calls these in Taurepán "gerundios del presente," "present gerunds," which is not a clear statement of their use or usual translation in and from Kamarakoto.

a. koneka-tanaˀ. "is making (while something else is being done)," used as an essentially indicative form expressing contemporaneous action. Taurepán, koneka-tana, (Baltasar) koneka-tana, "haciendo (mientras hacia)," "making (while ... was making)."

b. konekase, "making, is, was, will be making," expressing a continuing action. Taurepán (Baltasar) te-koneka-sé "haciendo (al mismo tiempo)," "making (at the same time)." The prefix te- is probably the reflexive pronoun and not part of the verbal form, strictly speaking. In Kamarakoto this verb form is usually not translatable as "making at the same time," but only as expressing an action not thought of as complete at any given time.

c. konekape, "make, made, etc.," conditional on or following another expressed action which is to be performed with or before the action of the verb in -pe. Taurepán, konekape, (Baltasar) koneka-pe, "haciendo," "making," — an occasionally adequate translation but not an explanation of the sense of the verb form.

d. konekasəˀ, "having made, made, having been made," a form that can be used as an indicative preterite (see 2, f, above) or as a participle or adjective, — konekasaˀ. (Not given by Baltasar as a separate form, but he gives the indicative use, see 2, f.)

6. Verbal nouns of agency, or relative modifying verbal forms. Baltasar calls these "participios de presente," "present participles."

a. konekanin, "one who is making, knows how to make." Taurepán (Baltasar) konekanin, "hacedor," "maker."

b. konekatəpon, "one who did make, maker of a completed thing." Taurepán konekatəpon, (Baltasar) konekatepon, "hacedor," "maker."

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c. ikonekatoʼ, "the means or thing used to make (it)." i- is a conjunctive pronoun. Taurepán, konekatoʼ, (Baltasar) konekatok, "lo que se hace (hechura)," "that which is made." This would be an incorrect translation of the Kamarakoto word. I am not sure regarding Taurepán but note that Koch-Grünberg gives quite a different word, inkonɛːkaʼ-pə, for "That which has been made" in that language.

d. ye-konekase, "one who is making," a more purely verbal form of expressing the same thing as konekanin. It is simply the continuing verbal form konekase with pronominal prefix. Taurepán, (Baltasar) te-konekasen, "hacedor," "maker," probably also simply konekase with a reflexive pronoun and perhaps with the nounal suffix -n.

7. Three forms that Baltasar calls "gerundios de preterito," "preterite gerunds," were not recognized by my Kamarakoto informants or encountered in Kamarakoto texts and perhaps are absent in that language. A Kamarakoto would substitute konekasaʼ or konekasəʼ for them in most contexts. Baltasar's expression of them is:

te-koneka-id	(te-koneka-iʼ)
te-koneka-pue-se	(te-konekap-se)
konekasak tese	(konekasaʼ tese)

— all translated as "habiendo hecho," "having made."

Other Parts of Speech.

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It is difficult or impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction, as a special part of speech. Some words indicating time, place, etc., are inherently adverbial in sense. Other qualifying words are used, without any change of form, to modify either nouns or verbs and hence are translatable either as adjectives or adverbs. Nouns and pronouns with prepositional postpositions, indicating manner, direction, and the like, are also often used to qualify the action of a verb and so may be translatable as adverbs, but calling them adverbs is merely a manner of speaking and not a logical classification. Perhaps the nearest analogy to Indo-European adverbs is the use of the postposition -pɛ (sometimes -pe or -pō) to form adverbial (but also adjectival) expressions from nouns or adjectives. The syllable can usually be translated "-like," e.g. woto-pɛ, "like an animal," and its formation of what amounts to an adverb is analogous to the use of "-ly" in English or of "-mente" in Spanish.

*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, aː, aːi, etc., are often heard, also the less universal akaː, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so [153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard.[89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maichaʼ	ɛpətipə	putapun	maichaʼ	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛton	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛtseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)
a gourd bottle.	He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving		

wai-kɛ	morɛ -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's
him (Maichak) a gourd bottle.	Then he showed him how		

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etserukɛ̨	marodɛ̨u	maichaʾ-ya	moroʔ
use.	Forthwith	Maichak	fishy

to use the gourd bottle. Then Maichak emptied (from

tuna	anokapətipə	toʾ	anumbatupõyɛ̨
water	emptied	then	gathered.

the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

/

mono-pɛ̨	moroʾ	anumbatupɛ̨	itetsɛ̨ɔn-ya
For a time	fish	gathered.	His brothers-in-law

He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itɛ̨tseru	putu pura	yetsipə	teumo-dakarə
his method	know(ing) not	were	his (own) son with

did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin	yepətipə	moroʾ	anumupə
only	was	fish	gathered.

with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

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Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tuʾrita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

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*197

				Cumanagoto (Adam) t-uto, t-uta, y-ucha, y-ucho. Note also the following words for "tree" given by de Goeje: Cumanagoto ekiche, Chaima yekich. These contain the root for "tree" (yɛ' in Kamarakoto) and a suffix -ich- comparable with icha.
2. Cucurito (palm)	yoloki	maripa(da)	mariba	I do not find any word very like yoloki. The somewhat similar Astrocaryum palm, awara in Modern Kamarakoto, is yawala in Oyana (de Goeje) and some other dialects. Compare also ka:-liki for the cucurito in Guinau (Koch-Grünberg) an Arawak dialect with which the Kamarakotos have been in contact.

[171]

*192 *197 3. Arrow	*mapuru*	*purau*	*pulõu*	I do not find any forms closer than Modern Kamarakoto. *Puru* would be a likely variant of the usual Carib root. *ma*- may be a prefix of some sort.
4. My hammock	*utauri*	*ukaimi*	*ukarimi*	Chaima (Adam) *u-y-etuat*. Variations of this root, distantly or not related to the root seen in Arekúna, also occur in at least seven other Carib languages (see Adam, No. 139), including Makuchi (Williams). It is speculative, but the Taurepán possessed form (as given; unpossessed form is *kami*) suggests that there may have been an ancient root *kari*, and if so, *tauri* could be a normal derivative of it.

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				of it. Note also that the word for "hammock" often is related to that for "cotton" (cf. de Goeje No. 51 with Adam No. 239) and that there is an Arawak root for "cotton" not unlike tauri, e. g. Adzaneni (Koch-Grünberg) tauali. But the possessive prefix u- is pure Carib.
5. That one (demonstrative)	mia:mo	n:amo:ra	iʔyamor	Chaima (Adam) amiamo-r-com. Cumanagoto (Adam) amiamo-r-como. Akawai (Adam) amiamo.
6. Get up (imperative)	apagaʔ	upaga	pata	In this case the old word is almost the same as the modern one.
7. It is dawning	(airapauna	auyukana	auyukana)	pomon = pōuman is clear enough, but I have found no word obviously near
8.	(pomon	pōuman	pōuman)	

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				airapauna. These words are, however, rare in vocabularies. The equation airapauna = auyukana, although unsatisfactory, may not be impossible, since there are sure examples in Carib of the transformations r = y and k = p.
9. Son, or my son.	keuke	mumun, umo	umu	Kaliña (de Goeje) mako, morokoko. Maquiritare (de Goeje) mudekeke. The basic Carib root seems to be m + vowel (usually o or u), but this is frequently followed by a guttural + vowel and the duplication of this suffixial element, as in Kalina and Maquiritare, forms a possible source for the vaguely remembered

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keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

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Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor. Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

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The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

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[171]

Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

*192

		any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.
[177] somberero	sombrero (hat))	These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.
kamisa	camisa (shirt))	
pantalon	pantalon (trousers))	
alpargata	alpargata (canvas slippers))	
[177] kaña	caña (sugar cane))	These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.
[171] t rabichi	trapiche (cane press))	
watea	batea (wooden bowl or trough)	
kacho	cacho (cow's horn)	A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.
kachimba	cachimba (tobacco pipe)	
kalabo:so	calabozo (jail)	The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.
tap ra	tabla (wooden board)	The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.
sambura	tambur (drum)	The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.
pero	perro (dog)	There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439] oro, woroʔ	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians direct-
177 ly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except
tapəra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to
[534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may
[231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamara-
kotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
unamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulũ-kulũ	file
kõroitoko	chicken

*192 177 The last two words are probably onomatopoeic and the others are probably names of native things now replaced by introduced substitutes. The numerous varieties of bananas, supposedly introduced, also have names that are of native origin, as far as known.

*192 Few words can be identified as surely borrowed from other Indian languages and Kamarakoto shows no extensive mixture with non-Carib dialects. They use a few words perhaps of Tupi or Arawak origin but so widespread among Caribs as to be Carib words for all practical purposes. *Karoi*, for the *Genipa* dye, differs radically from the word in allied Carib dialects (usually variants of *ruku*) and may be related to some variant of the Arawak word *karutu*. If so, it would be a nearly unique example of borrowing direct from a wholly foreign Indian language and not through other Carib dialects.

Classification of Kamarakoto and Allied Languages.

*197 Omitting numerous subdialects, poorly known dialects, some that became extinct before they were well classified, and others of doubtful or unimportant status, the principal Carib languages may be classified as follows:

I. *Main or northeastern division.*
    A. Coastal group
        Kaliña, Kalinga, Galibi, Karibi, Caribi. (The so-called Island Carib is a mixture of Kaliña and Arawak).
        Kumanagoto, Cumanagoto.
        Palenke, Palenque.
        Chaima, Chayma, Core, Paria.
        Tamanako, Tamanaco.
        Oyana, Ayana, Uayana, Rukuyen, Roucouyenne.
    B. Amazon group
        Trio.
        Umaua: a. Hianakoto.
            b. Guake, Huake.
            c. Kariona.
        Pianakoto.
        Apalai, Aparai.
        Wayewe, Wayawai, Woyaway, Waiwai.
    C. Bonari group
        Bonari.
        Yauapery, Uaimeri.
    D. Central or Roroima group
        Akawai, Acawai, Accawai.
        Ingariko. (Perhaps only an Akawai dialect.)

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- Makuchi.
- Arekuna:
    - a. Taurepán, Taulipang.
    - b. Kamarakoto.
    - c. etc. Various other dialects.
- Purukoto, Ipurucoto.
- Sapara.
- Wayamara.
- Krishana, Kirisaman, Crichana.

E. Ventuari group

- Makiritare, Maquiritare:
    - a. Yekuana, Mayonggong, Maiongkong.
    - b. Churuana.
    - c. Dekuana.
    - d. Kunuana, Kununena.
- Yabarana, Yauarana.

II. Northwestern division.

A. Motilon group

(Numerous languages or dialects not well classified and not pertinent here.)

B. Peba group

- Peba.
- Yagua.
- Yameo.

III. Southern division - Scattered, isolated Carib languages, including the following:

- Palmella.
- Yuma, Pariri.
- Arara, Apiaca.
- Bakairi.
- Nahuqua, Nabuqua, Akuku.
- Pimenteira.

For the most part the names here given major listing, even within a single group, may be considered as separate languages and not merely as dialects. It is absurd to speak, as some travelers and students do, of "a" Carib language. Carib speech constitutes a great family or linguistic stock with enough features in common to believe that all its members had a common origin, but it includes at least thirty and probably about fifty quite distinct languages, most of them still living although many have become extinct. Despite their assignment to a single stock, these languages differ even more than do, for instance, the Romance languages of Europe. A Motilon certainly could not understand a

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation.[90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease,[91] although it is by no means an *197 identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of 194 common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán, Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal   in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak mũi = Taurepán yenegam shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is 192 from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 192 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto mailuri = Taurepán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

101 114 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[197] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

[92] [see footnote on p. 317, category 116 - Analyst]

101 may be distinguishable as another such group.[93] Probably the Arekuna vocab-
*197 ulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.[94]

Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the *197 closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.[95]

*197 101 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roroima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto. Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roroima more or less in the center.

Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a [429] separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they [101] call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[101] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 degenerate, but as a very rough analogy one might compare Kamarakoto among the Carib dialects with Castilian among Romance dialects as less degenerate phonetically than some of their allies (e. g. Portuguese among Romance languages) and less mixed than others (e. g. Rumanian among Romance languages).

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[text continues on p. 107]

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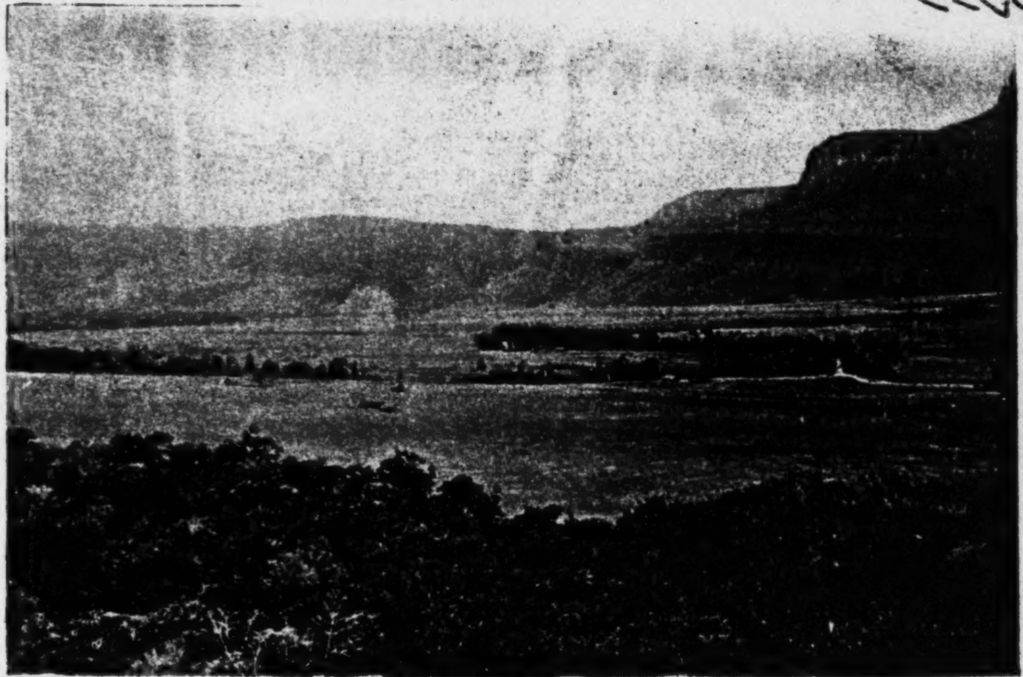

Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation:
(1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling,
(2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming
and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a
forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food,
timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psycho-
logical, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of
361 life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This
103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in
Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a
place called Oruá, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest.
After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua,
but building his house at Aleuiba (alewi:ba) where there is a small sabana and
his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 103 [823 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Enuarapaimá-tepúi,[96] drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

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96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is
the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá
and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by
sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western in-
habited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[169] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say
that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[761] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of
the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest
moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Ka-
marata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and
the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately
half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins
an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore unin-
habitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's
travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this
region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[133] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Ka-
marakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people
there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamara-
kotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá,
Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each
other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the
cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[182] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected
by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They
do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated
not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders.
Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some
of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas
by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them
of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present

101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

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101 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central group.[98]

Census

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125 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

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Name of place	Head man (toʔ-esaʔ)	Number of men
KAMARATA:		
Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
		Total in Kamarata - 11
AKANAMUINTA:		
Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
		Total in Akanamuinta-12
AKANAN VALLEY:		
Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
	(Lorenzo.[99]	3
Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimbaʔ.	Pablo Abati.	1
Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

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Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37
KARAO VALLEY:		
Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley - 11
OTHERS:		
On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
		Total others - 7
	Total men in central group -	78

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125 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. 161 The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be [167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really [119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) [101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher. [165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

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163 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females 589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

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[829] No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are, however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certainly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none 165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [744] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (toʔ-esaʔ, "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

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[102] [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

551 177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. 551 The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, [123] when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly [829] have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least [123] known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would [177] have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essential- [797] ly as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. [553] The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. 551 553 The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be [343] less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof [171] and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal [114] sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be [171] called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

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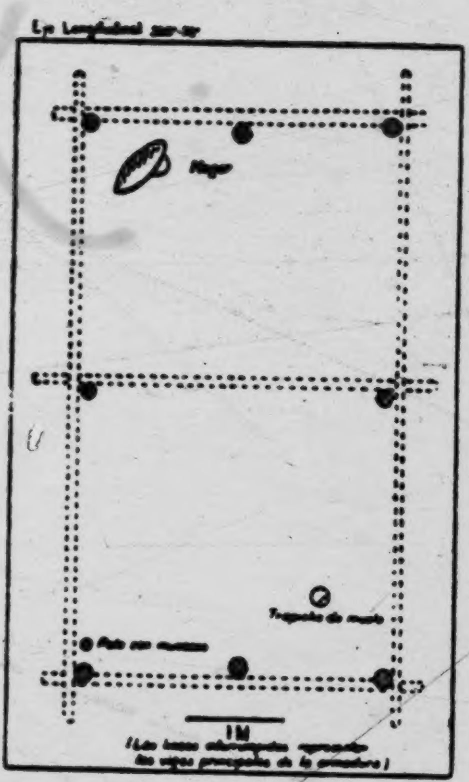

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

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342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

343 It
[402] almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the
[252] preparation of casave and for cooking. although both these may also be done
[352] in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days
[513] or for visitors.[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often
[118] assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because
they are square. but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported. if
not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib. but a square
shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain.
by hunters. for instance. is invariably square and the square work-house is
[171] simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event. such work-
houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still
less European influence. These structures are called wata. or. if the absence
of walls needs to be specified. wata-imedapun.

342 The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls. wata-timeakɛn,
[171] and these really are. I believe. a recent development showing some non-Carib
influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them. kalaborso. = "calabozo."
is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud.
[136] including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Un-
less needed to accommodate visitors. they are used only in the rainy season
when insects are very bad. when the family retires to the structure at night and
seals itself in. emerging almost asphyxiated the next day. a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

335 The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size.
342 Any sort of strong wood is used for this. "purguo." purwei-dyɛ' being pre-
343 ferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the
[824] rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut. but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun. work-house. (Figs. 2-5)[1] and of a parapan. dwelling. (Figs. 6-8).[2]

342 Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves. kunwada-yarɛ. Oenocarpus
[343] leaves. being preferred. maripada-yarɛ. Maximiliana leaves. also common.
[824] and gwaiyarɛ. Mauritia leaves. occasionally used.[106] The walls are often
thatched also. usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are al-
ways and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud. a type
of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial
[171] Venezuelan Spanish. (the Kamarakotos call it simply non. "mud"). This type
of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall
thatching. but it occurs. and has long occurred. among virtually all the tribes

[105], [106] [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
[1] [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
[2] [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

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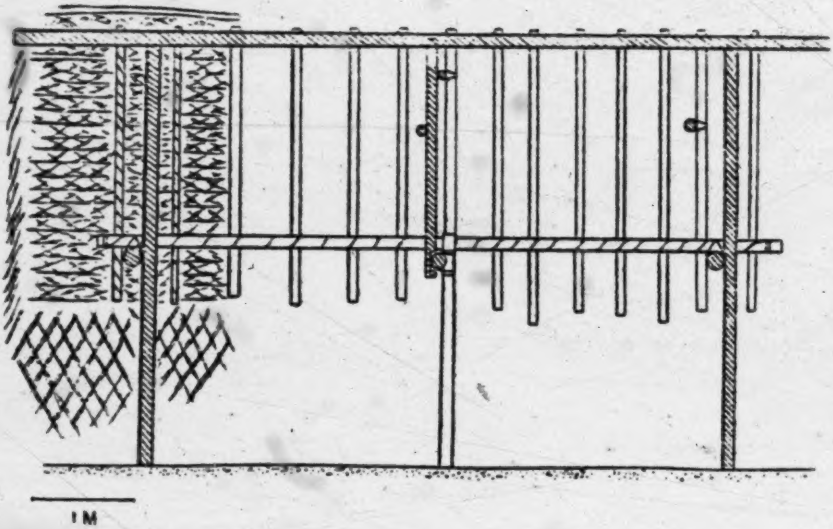

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection.
The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 171 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks. 342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 335 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

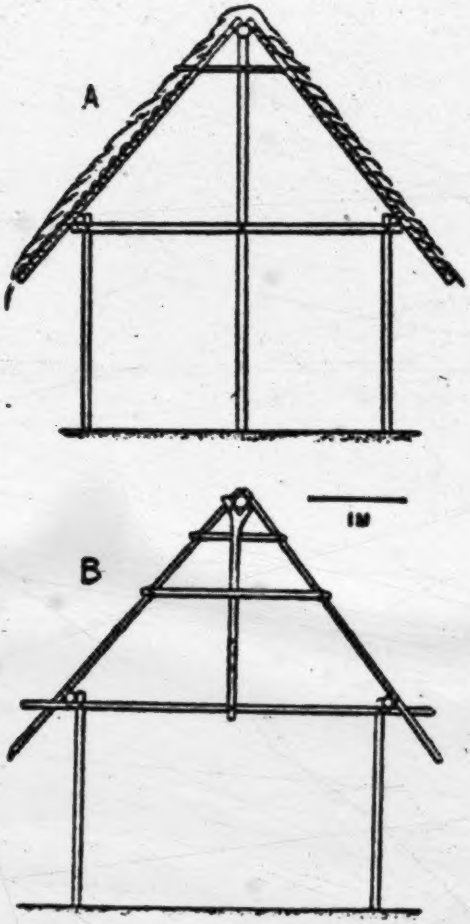

Fig. 4 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Figs. 2-3. A, diagram of northeast end. B, diagram of central member (thatch omitted), showing method of bracing ridge-pole from rafter, leaving center of floor open.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of
smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any
length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the
natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the
grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of
any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and
cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving
a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height,
always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few
centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts
to close the opening.

Uruyén.

121 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical in-
habited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three,
rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or
two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was
gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

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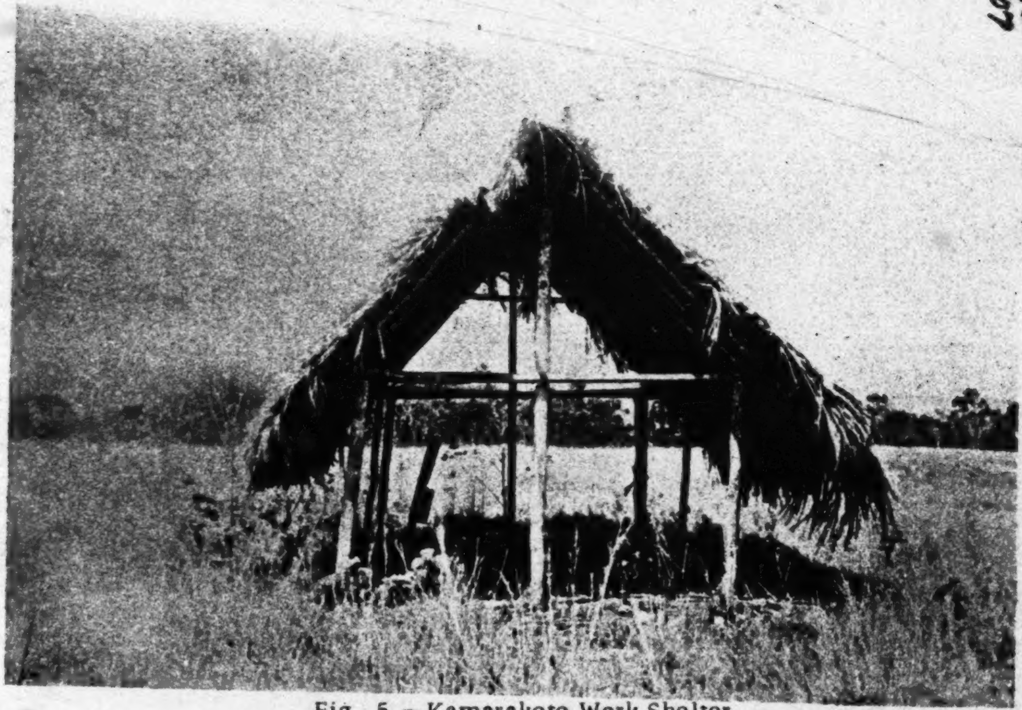

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

311 103 133 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [139] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uru:yi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 311 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 343 824 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material		Use
	Roof	Walls	
A. Elongate: parapan.	kumwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kumwada-yarɛ.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kumwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kumwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakɛn.	kumwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: *parapan.*	*kumwada-yarg.*	*maripada-yarg.*	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: *wata-imedapun.*	*maripada-yarg.*	(none)	Work-house for F. now abandoned.

342 The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans
343 (Figs. 2, 6A)[1A] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map
(Fig. 11).[2A] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

621 In house A lives the head of the place (*to'-esa'*), Reyes, with his wife,
592 their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece).
342 B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo"
343 and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was
formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D
[166] was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén.
Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

592 F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group,
768 have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immedi-
[768] ately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1A] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 11b - Analyst]

[2A] [see p. 122e Category 11b - Analyst]

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[766]
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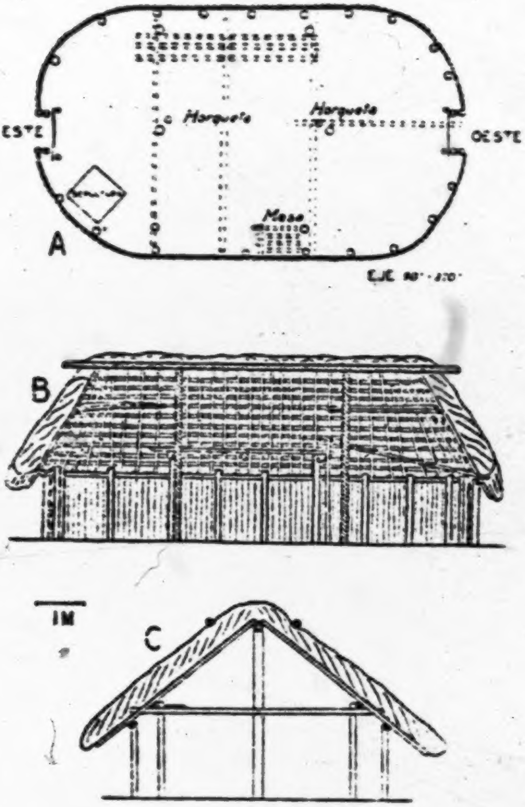

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

[766]
[768]

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Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been. These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

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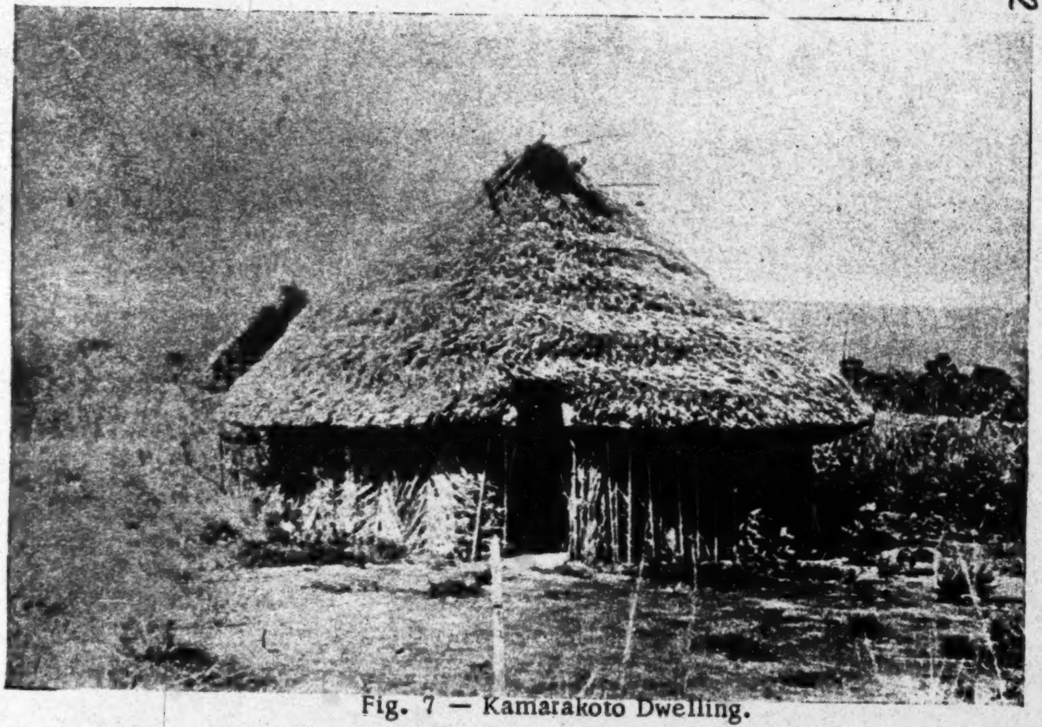

Fig. 7 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

Same building as Fig. 6. Photograph of eastern end, showing main or front entrance. An edge of the roof of the work shelter of Figs. 2-5 can been seen to the left of the roof of this dwelling.

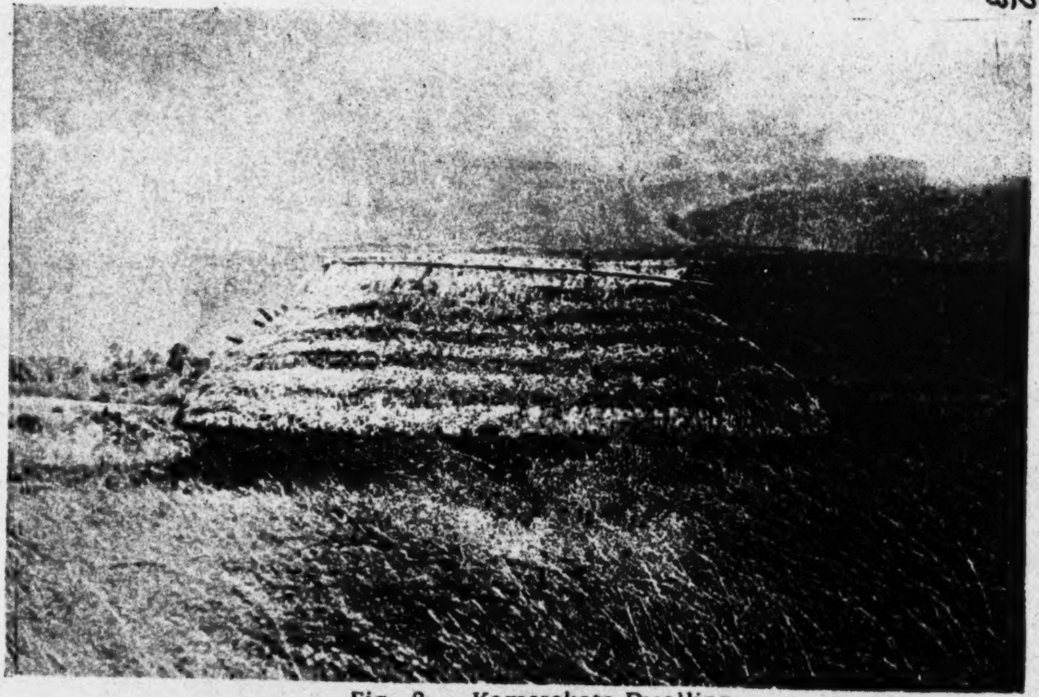

Fig. 8 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Same building as Figs. 6-7. Photograph of south side. (Slopes of Auyán-tepúi visible below clouds in background).

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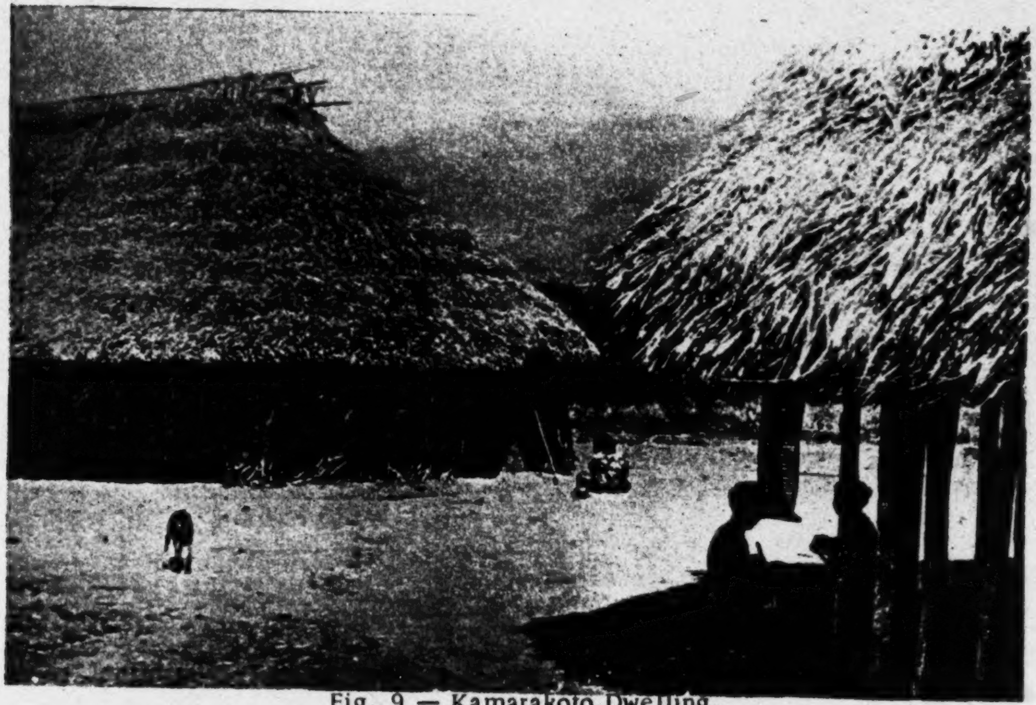

Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

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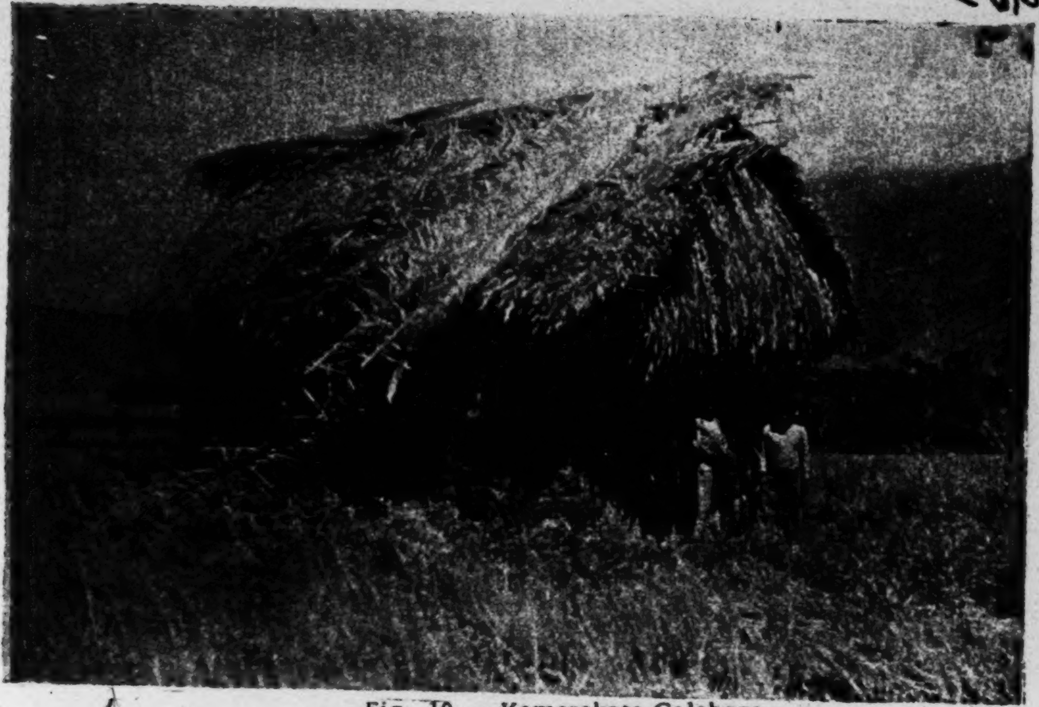

Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.

The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

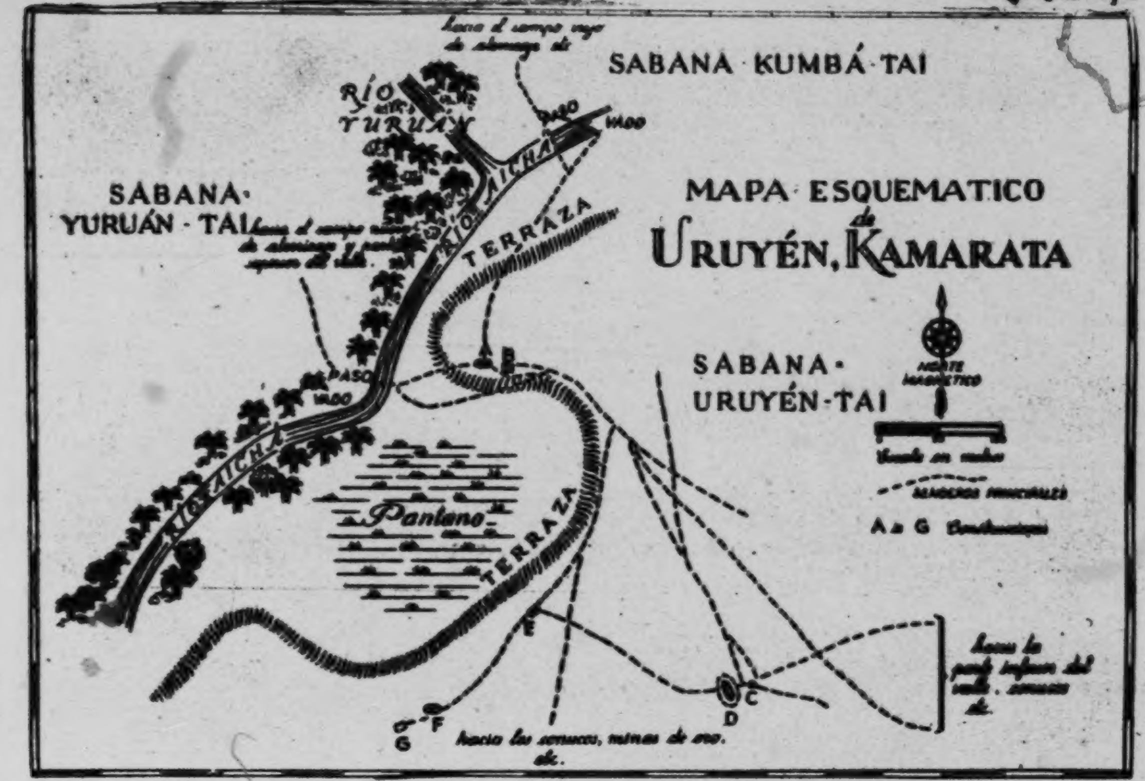
MAPA ESQUEMATICO
de
URUYÉN, KAMARATA
SABANA KUMBÁ-TAI
SABANA-YURUÁN-TAI
SABANA-URUYÉN-TAI
RÍO YURUÁN
RÍO AICHA
TERRAZA
TERRAZA
Pantano
PASO
VADO
PASO
VADO
B
C
D
E
F
G
hacia los conucos, minas de oro. etc.
A a G
NORTE MAGNETICO

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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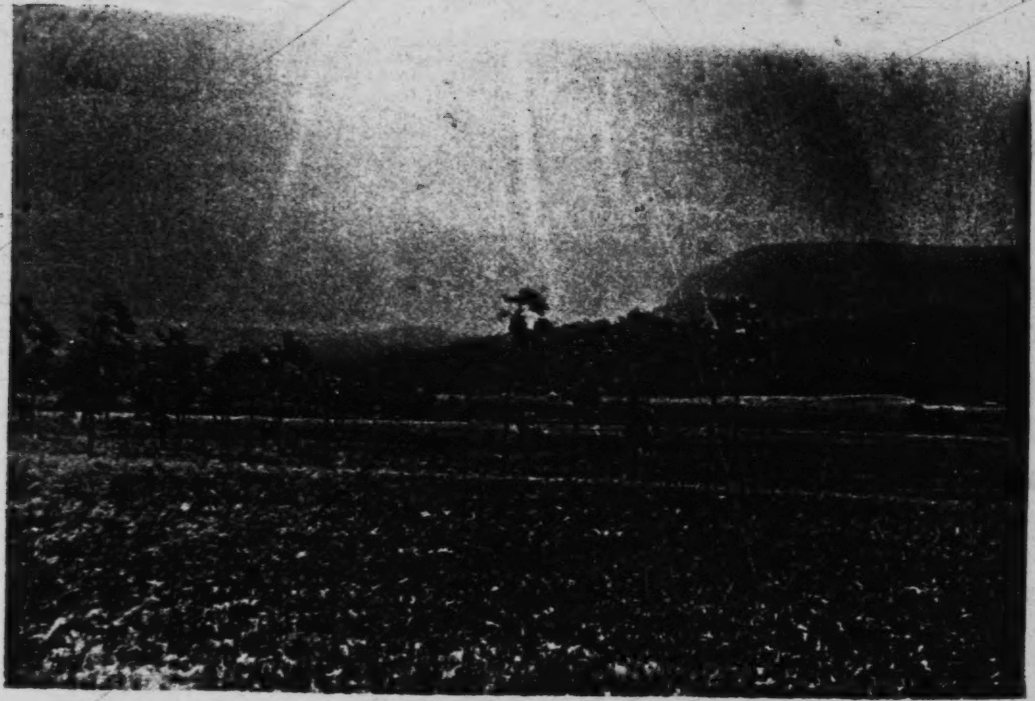

Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River.

Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

123 574 573 784 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 433 241 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 262 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 311 134 242 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become established wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

[107] [see footnote on p. 19, category 116 - Analyst]

241
311 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop.
134 In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or
242 pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), *Dioscorea*, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, *Xanthosoma*.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] *Kumi* (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241
177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 125]

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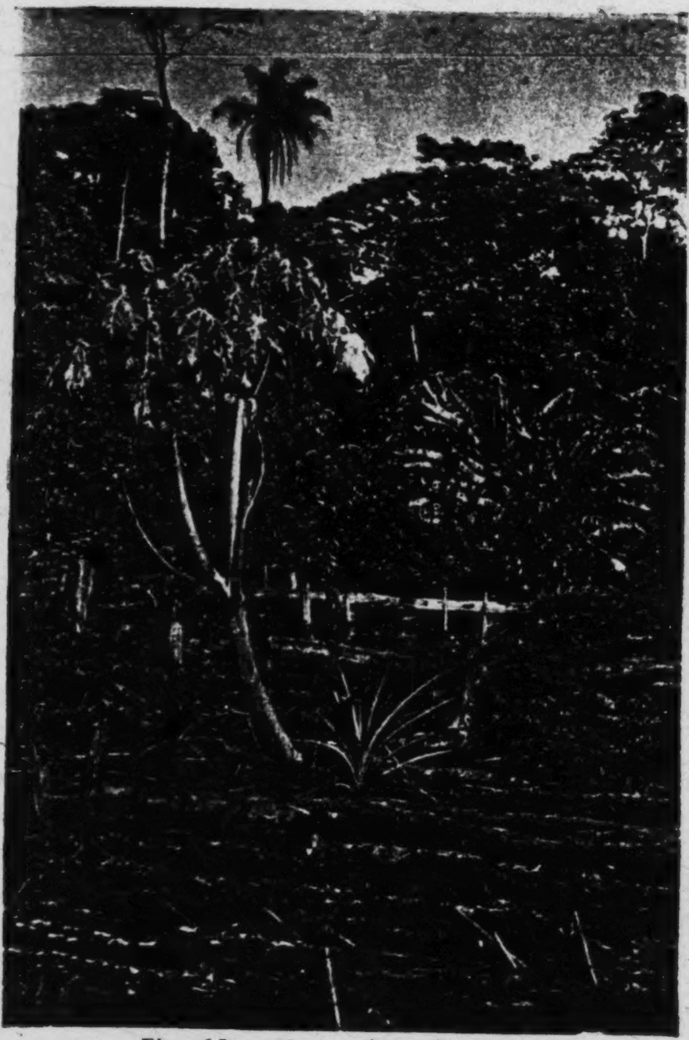

Fig. 13 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
One of the Uruyén conucos. The method of clearing by felling trees and burning is shown, as well as the haphazard planting.

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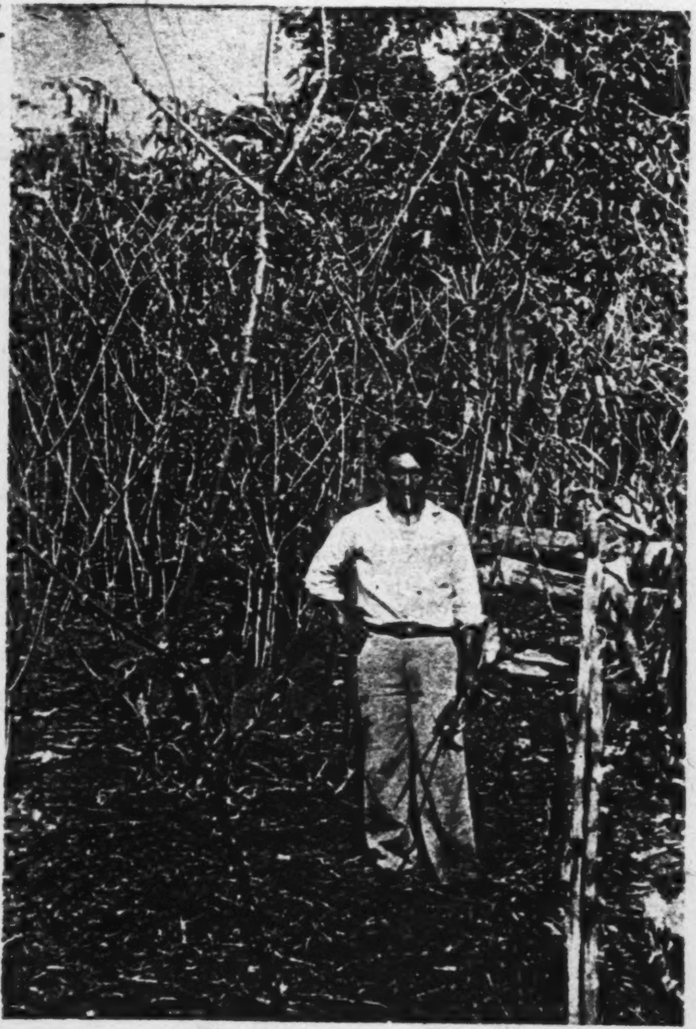

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

241/177 relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America. In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they [173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

241/262/177 Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

241/262 Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, *Dioscorea*, *Xanthosoma*, and *Ipomea* are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, *Solanum*, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

241 Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), *Persea*. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of *Bromelia*, *Bixa*, and *Genipa*, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

231/262 In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild. A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where) [177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani- [235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been [522] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224/262 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called *po. inga*, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, *pakira*, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, *waikin* and *kutsari*, the lapa, *urana*, the acure, *akuri*, and the tapir, *maikuri* (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[2]

[see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

[2] [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun,
and mauraima, and anteaters, wareme, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small
rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity.
Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but
most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts
eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger
wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of
these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of
capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten
in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for
fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant
paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed suc-
cessively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged
for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the
way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one
of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days
and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were
also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with
ours, as we saw.

[110] [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]

[1] [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

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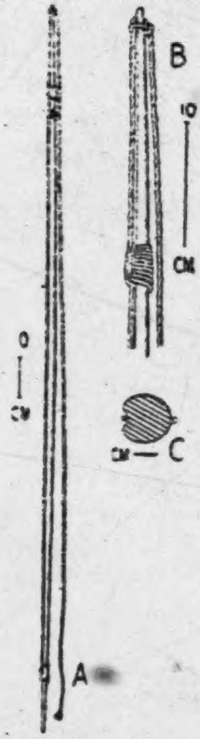

Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 [433] ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 177 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [857] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadɨ). Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical- [263] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

[111] [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 murun-yɛʔ), long cane (purau-yɛʔ) shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[824] (murun-yɛʔ) plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a
reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger
while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm.,
point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping
4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm.
The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward
than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is
the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supple-
mentary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings.
A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft
wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm.,
shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is
100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the
foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the
most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a
relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The
point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in
two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawaiʔ string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden fore-
shaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of
the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this
insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When
the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats
away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the
shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm.
without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm.
to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft
55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug
and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm.
from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but
less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had
never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and
is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in
general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p 320, category 116 - Analyst]

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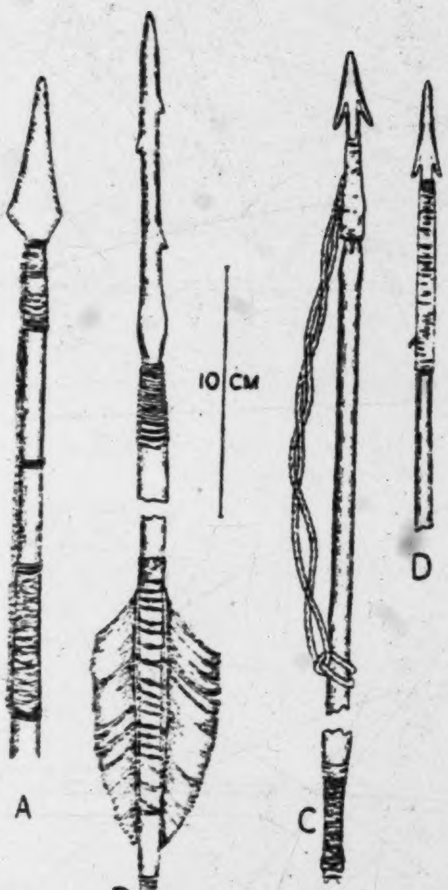

Fig. 16 — Kamarakoto Arrows.
A, distal end of a supalarí, showing end of shaft and all of foreshaft and point.
B, tarau, with most of shaft omitted.
C, waibakasi, with most of shaft and proximal end of foreshaft omitted; the point and its looped cord are removable. D, panachika, point and distal end of foreshaft.

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point
used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and
the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth
1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
208 (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use
poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially
bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives
ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have
been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear
(not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related
tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubt-
less goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
325 introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly
from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot
working of iron is unknown.

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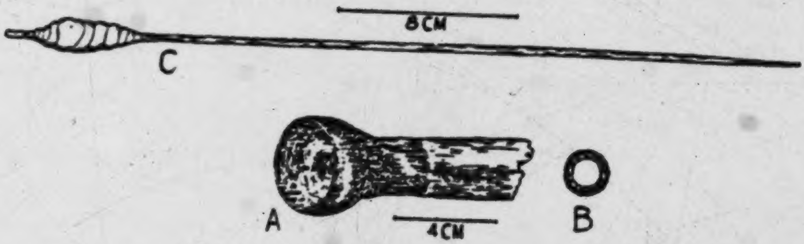

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two [illegible]es are carefully selected and

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun
gun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a
blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are
a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare
country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related
tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they
also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns
with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at
least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user.
A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can
easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great
length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro
and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38-40 cm. in length, are
made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section,
2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is
rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts
are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown,
pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably,
casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison
is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of
poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mõiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form,
from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiʼ, uncoated and without a top,
is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw
of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiʼ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 [829] For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kuma:za', about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[413] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosa', is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. [223] The blowgun is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. 278 411 The Indians say that the poison is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 000 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an improvised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

[116] [see footnote on p.320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] [423] [721] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

[117] [see footnote on p.320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious
device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut
[314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of
wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen
such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many
[283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole,
without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping
out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of
[283] heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave
is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and
20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end
expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends
to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the
two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than
the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the
open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai,
but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides
freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for
use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and
bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical
withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible
withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield
and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The
other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap
is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening
in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are
so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different
[824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119]
This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so.
Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length,
[476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the
Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the
poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters
above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 136]

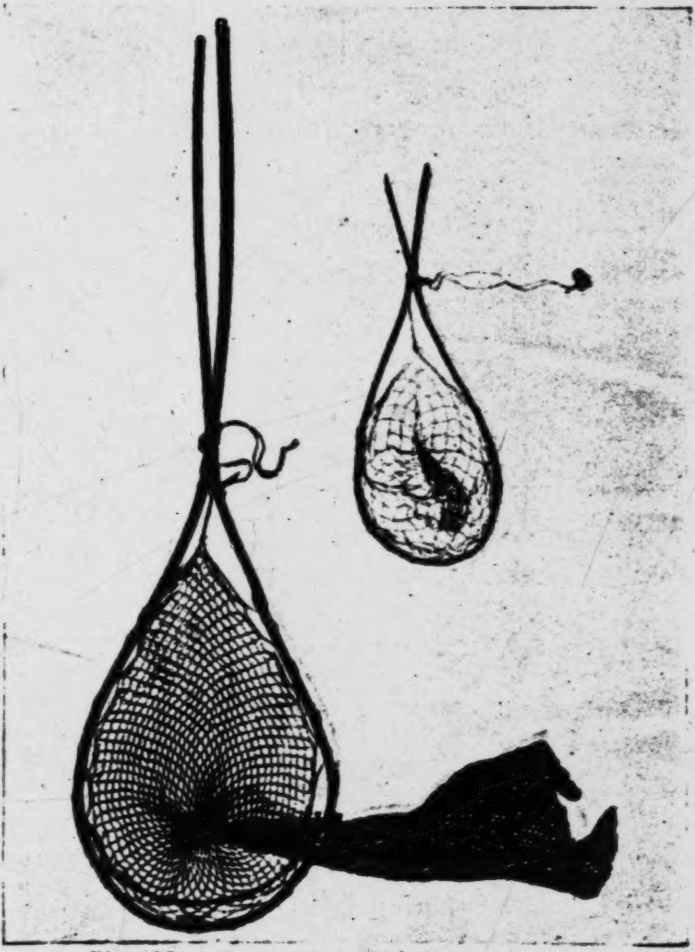

Fig. 18 — Kamarakoto Fish Nets.
A. iru'. B. pendə (tied to end of pole for use).

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruɨ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 185 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 [527] A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] [262] [251] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus is sun-dried and saved for the future.

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

[120] [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 137]

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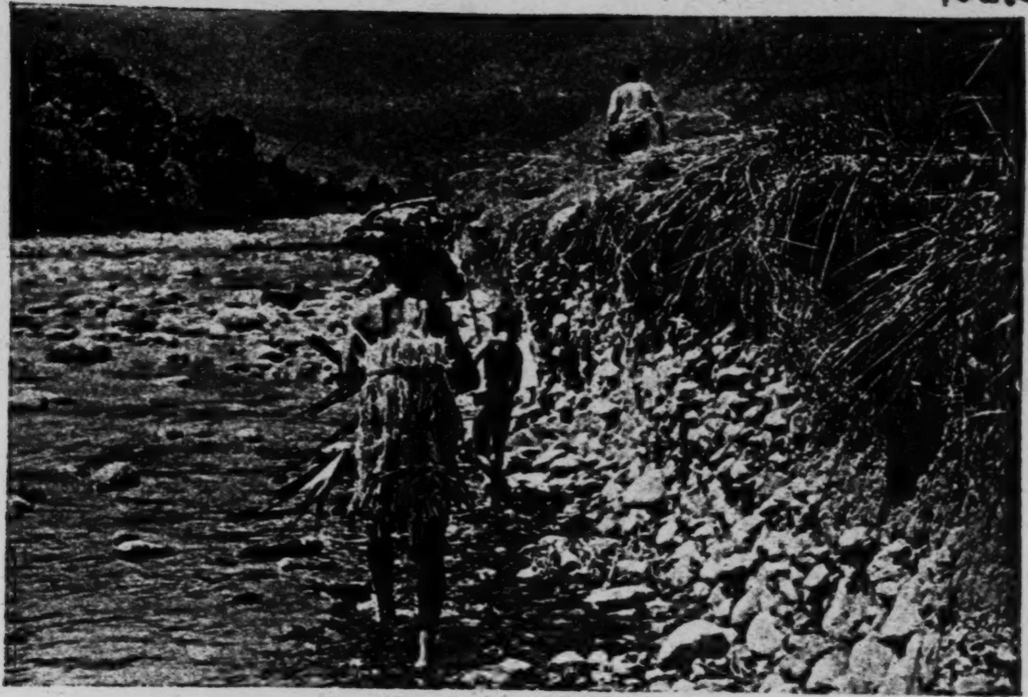

Fig. 19 — Barbasco Fishing.

Carrying the prepared fish-poison (ing' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

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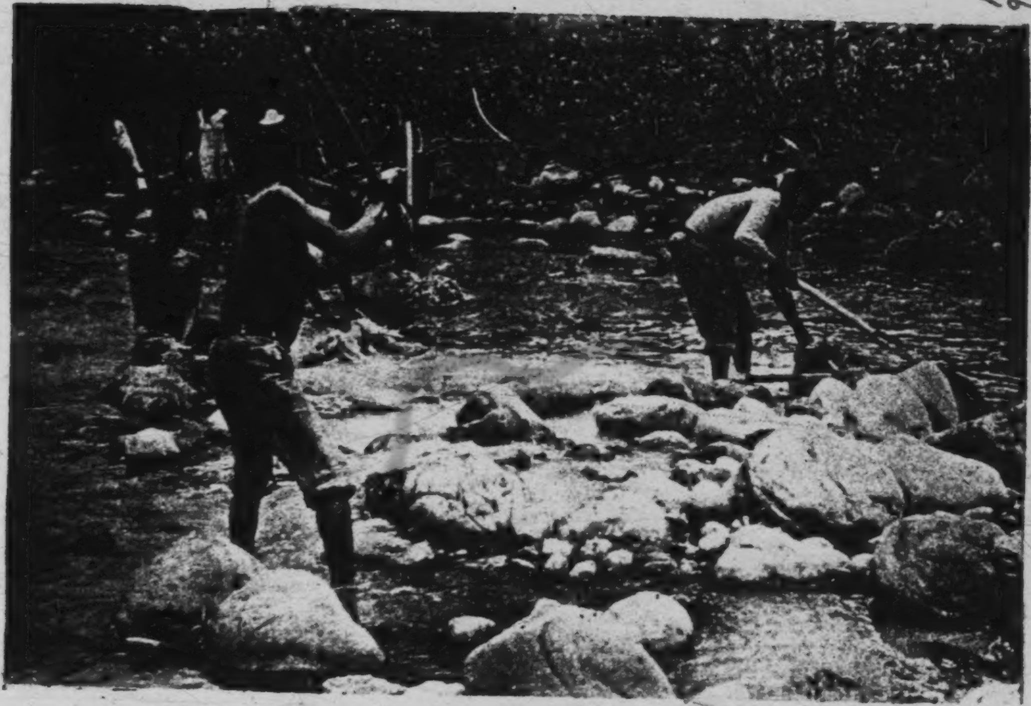

Fig. 20 – Barbasco Fishing.
Men beating the barbasco to liberate the poison in the water.

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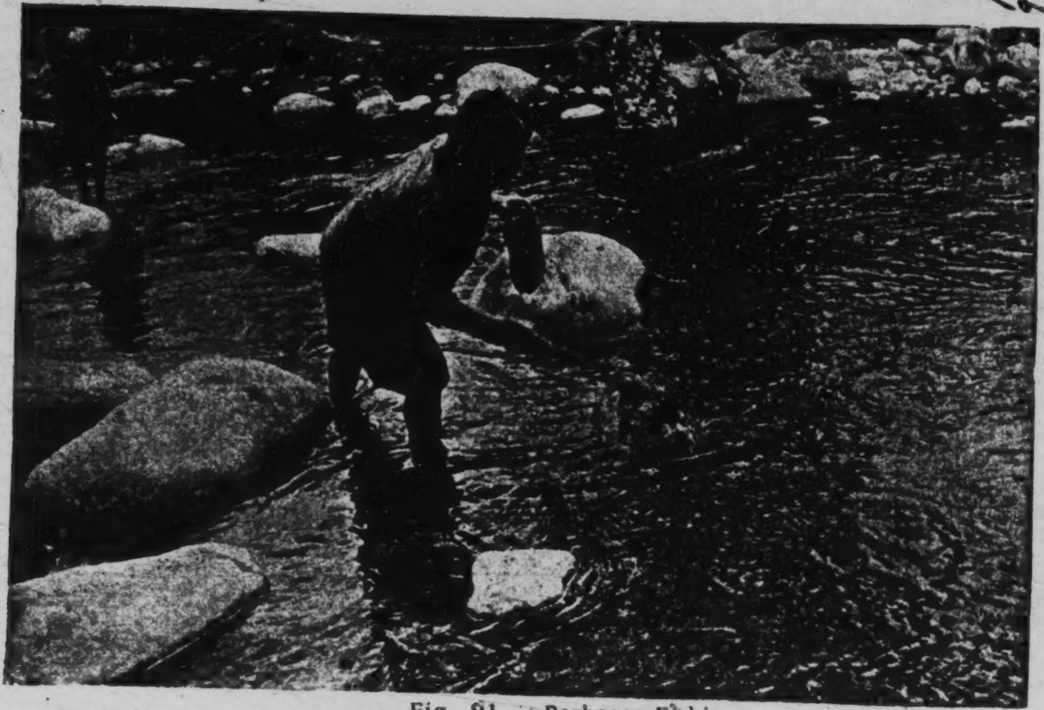

Fig. 21 — Barbasco Fishing.
Woman gathering disabled fish with a net (iru').

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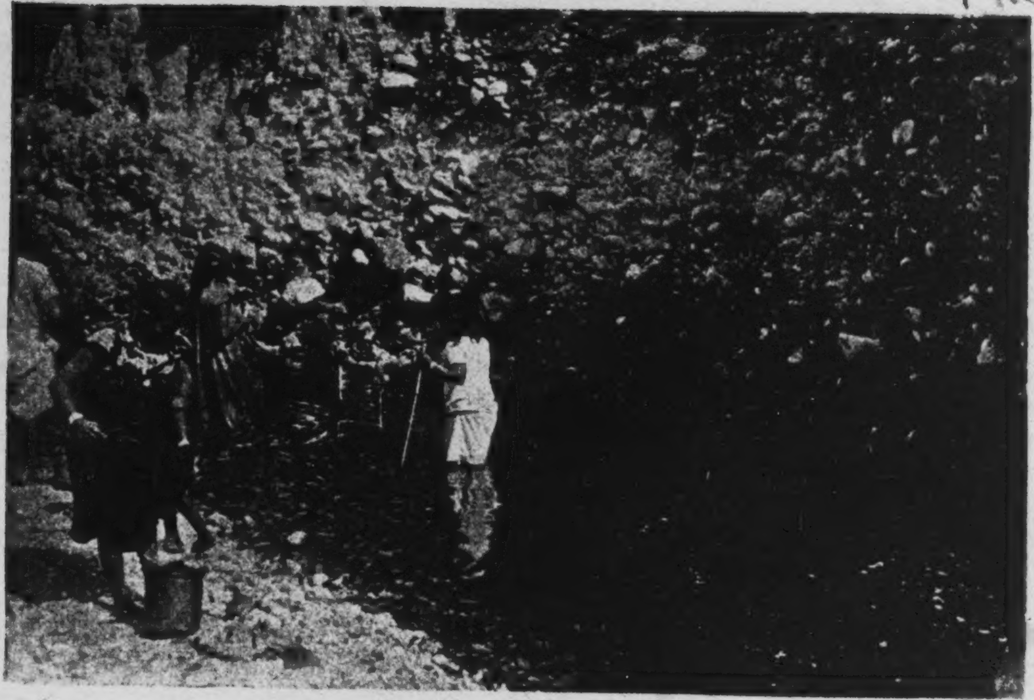

Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is bananas,
[262] and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be described in detail.
252 The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, sama:ri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezuelan
288 Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

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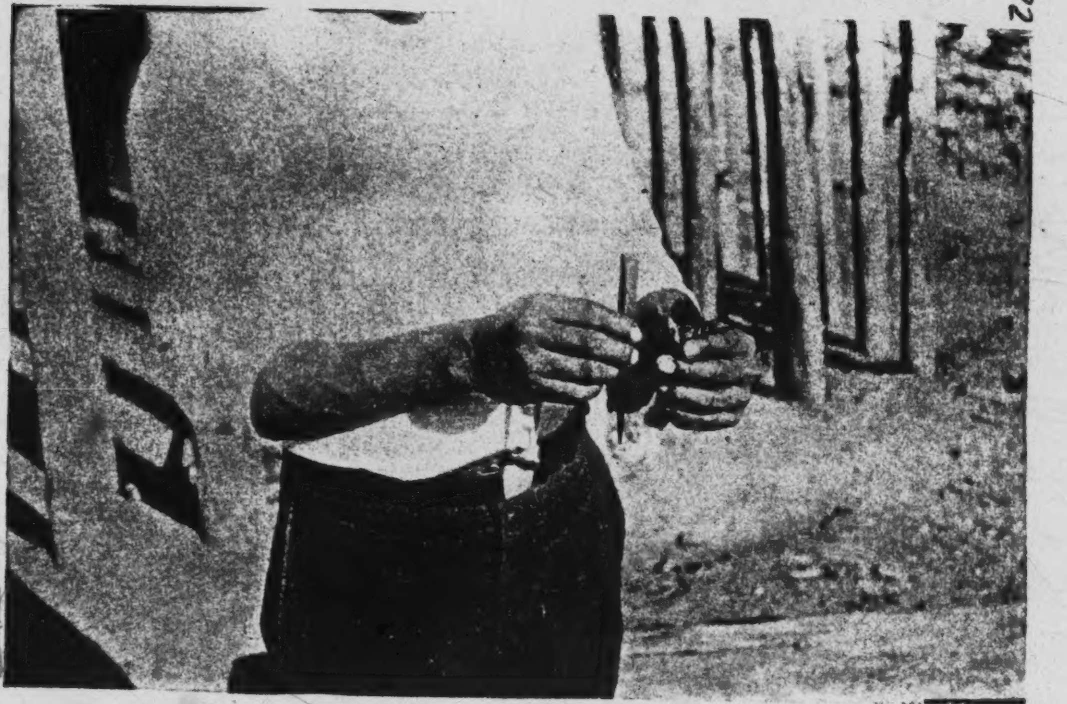

Fig. 23 – Kamarakoto Fire-making.
Use of flint (local jasper), steel (a triangular file) and tinder (a thick roll of native cotton).

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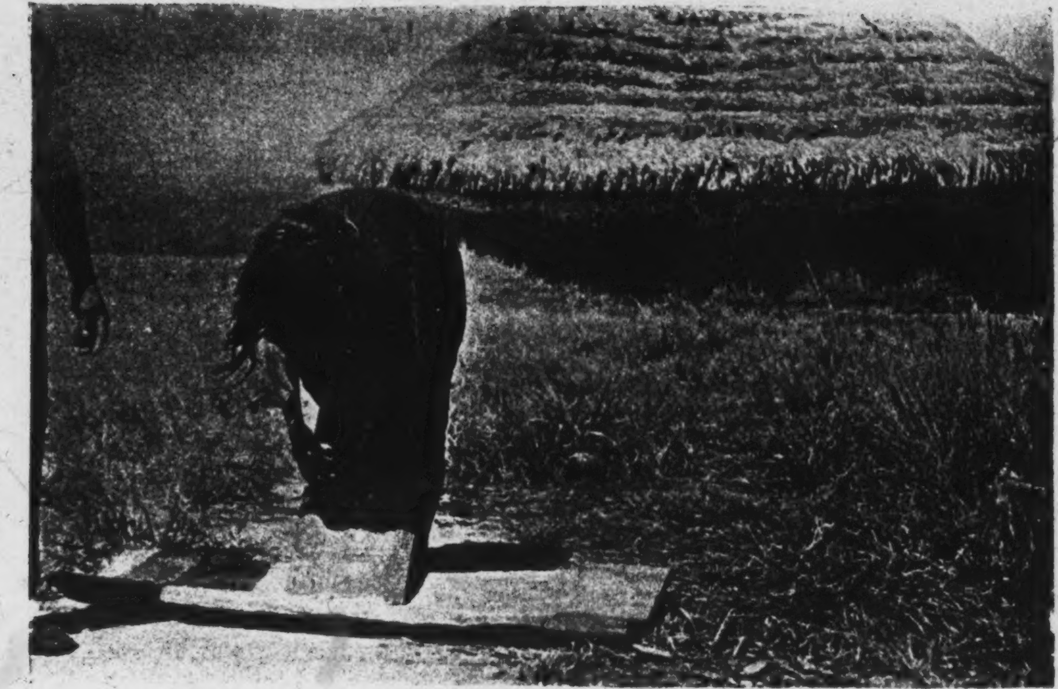

Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the *Manihot* root on a grater, *sama:ri*, into a trough (*moru*).

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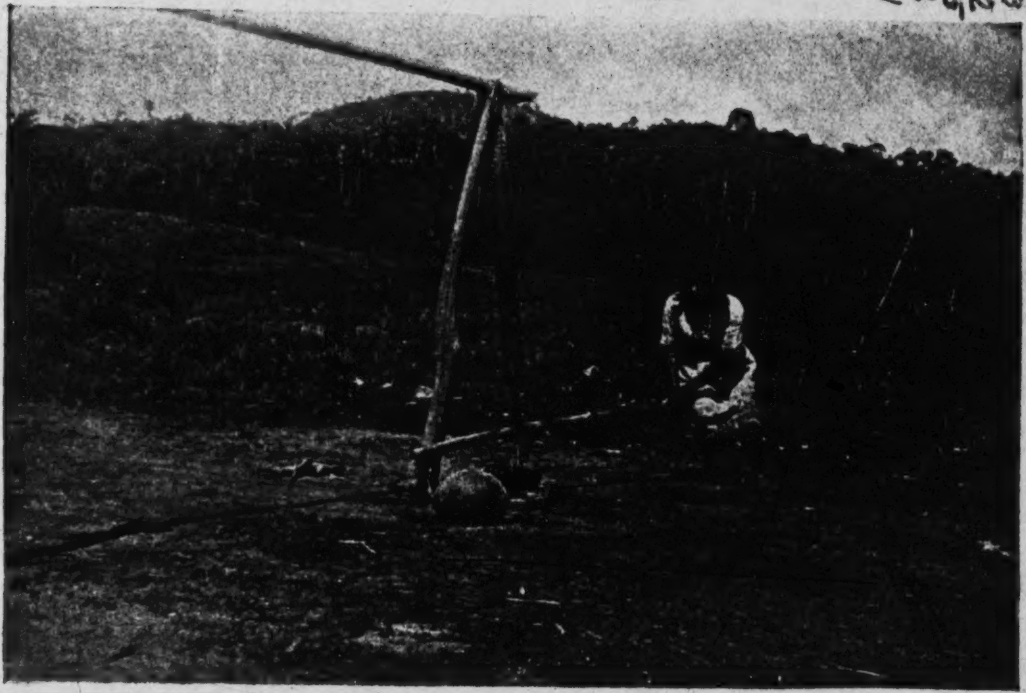

Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán; but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

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252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangöi' is
filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such
beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is
[482] then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the
tangöi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the
bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve,
pangai' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat
stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular
[251] cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but
those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor.
It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it
without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable
varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else
that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas
or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or
stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties
of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed
into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled
mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes,
pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may
be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the
Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is
so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless
naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

[121] [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b - Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
[263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
[171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[178] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an intro-
[illegible] duced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

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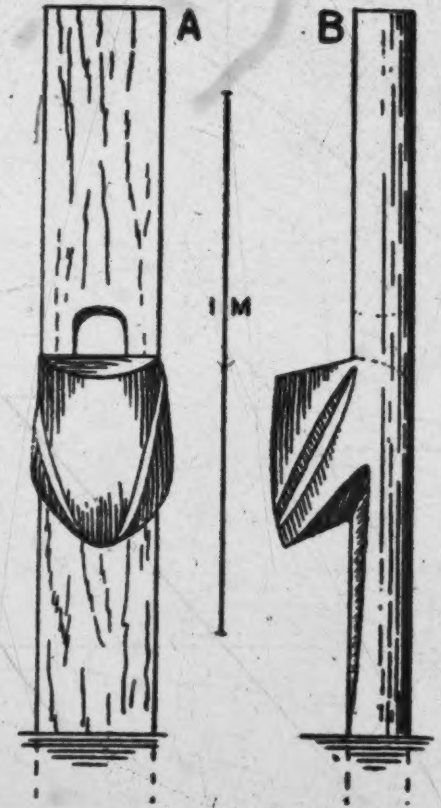

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A, front view. B, side view.

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.124 Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian through-
out this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark
string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[172] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are
familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war
club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that
it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal
warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

412 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers 177 and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

412 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of 177 wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced 178 by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

415 The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned [412] under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and [252] puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [324] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛʾ and kopei-yɛʾ (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[285] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. [252] These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless [531] an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

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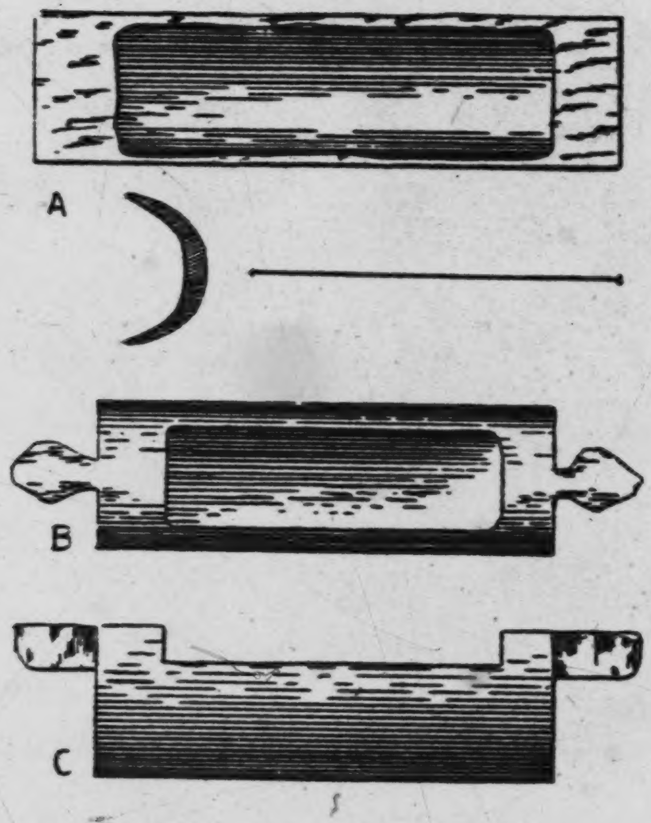

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, moru, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

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[462] Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this region since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable

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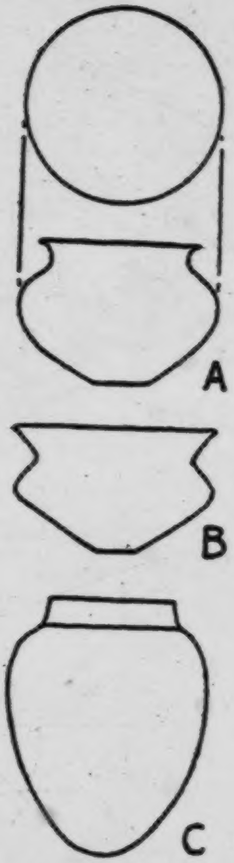

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes. A and B variations of the common pattern. C an unusual type.

323 438 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 412 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called *kamoi*, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, *koireka*. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used as bottles, *wai*. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the fingers. 265 264

[text continues on p. 145]

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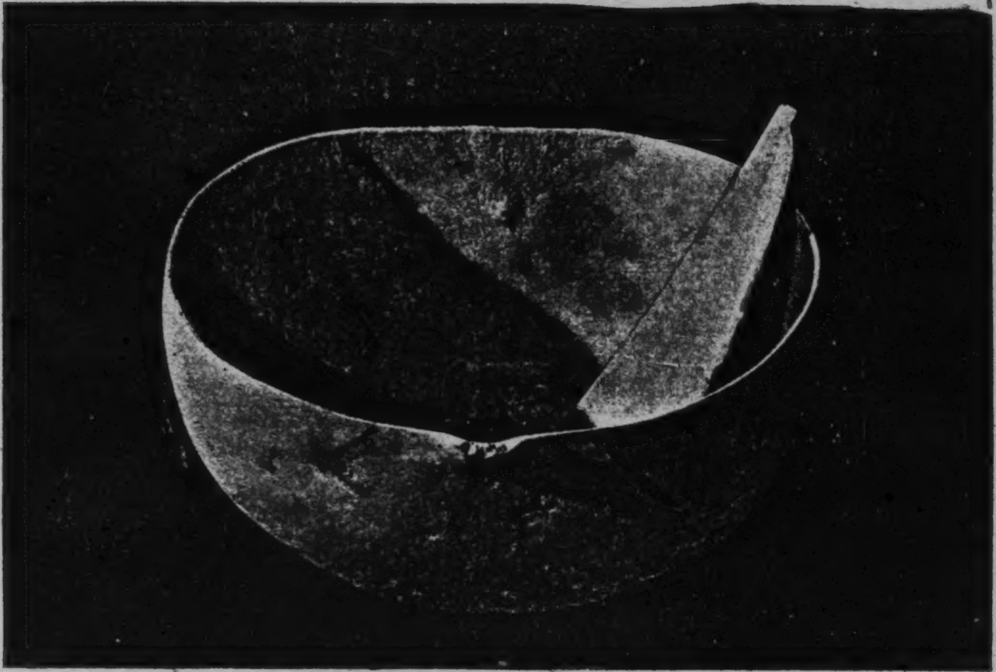

Fig. 29 – Kamarakoto Calabash Bowl and Spoon.
A kamo' with a koireka in it.

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Kamarakoto

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415 177 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 [322] The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi', is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and [576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

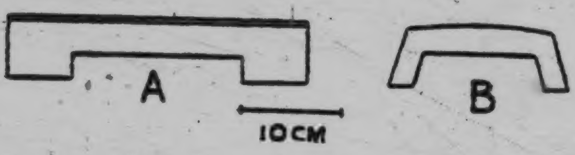

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi', hewn from a single block of wood.

[513] [352] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352
854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the
353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: [1]

tangõi' — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangai' — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o.olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
soko')

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akai') These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koatai') frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawa' — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[417] εno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

[1] [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

285 kumara-katsa) — large, flat palm-leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285
422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

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177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 48]

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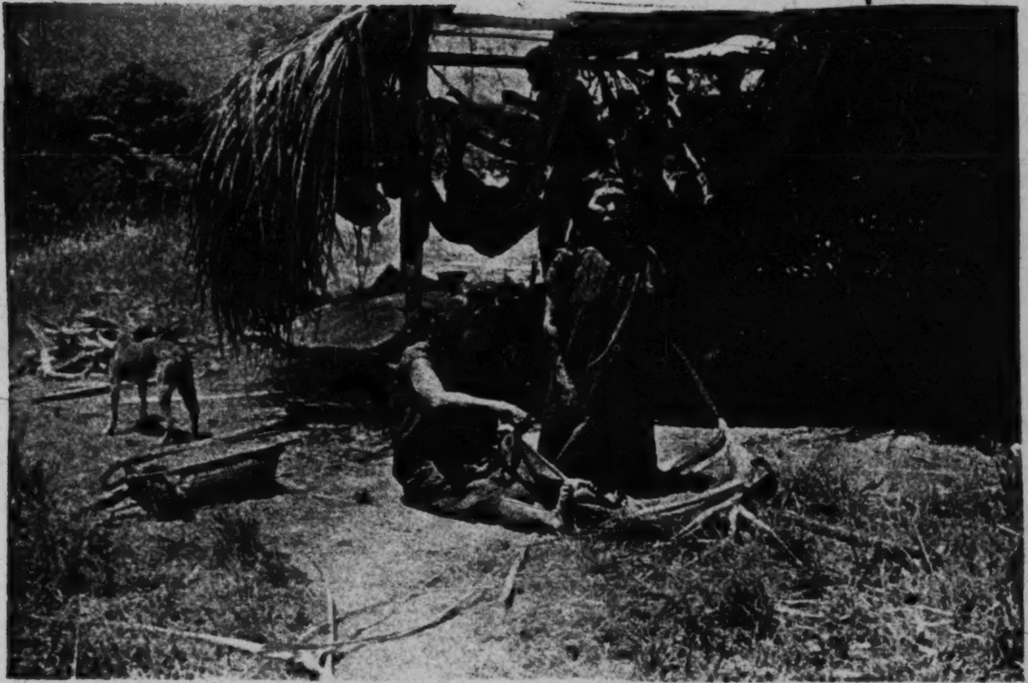

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.

Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-akaːmüi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p 322, category 116 - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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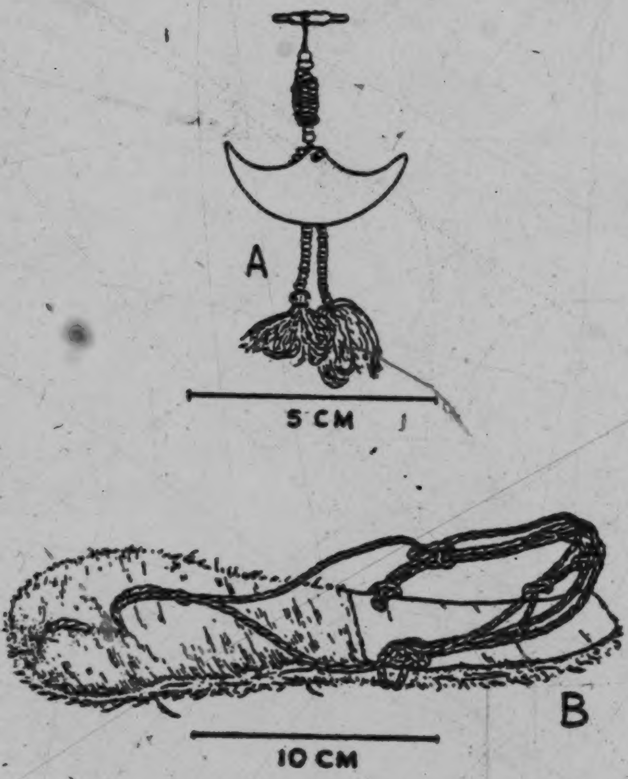

[283
824] Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

[132] [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[213] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of
moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side
at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the
heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes
(in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the
first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana
Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for
[461] instance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the
sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing
so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name,
"alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough
to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use,
but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern.
These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[531] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these,
with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an
allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes
used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some
of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The
dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively
as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán,
not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally
positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying
in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities
to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree
with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

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291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

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291
177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

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291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs.
At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn.
One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps
and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is
[28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or
knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or
with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and
are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them.
301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they
304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where
they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved,
place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper
arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations
are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be
wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from
time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may
leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichi', to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

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177 The yaichi' is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichi'. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichi' in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

[134] [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

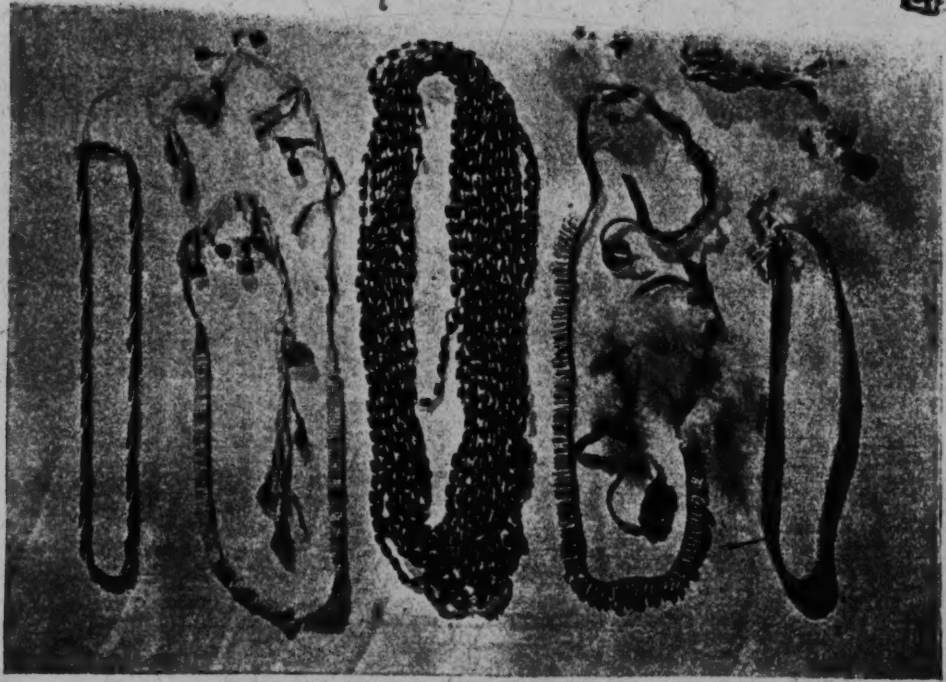

Fig. 33 – Kamarakoto Personal Adornment.

A, a man's belt of twisted strands of red, white, and blue beads. B, flat white bead-band necklace with streamers and tassels. C, multiple single-strand necklace of white beads and brown seeds. D, festooned white bead necklace with tassels and down-puffs. E, woven cotton woman's dance head-dress with back streamer with down-puffs.

301 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber
177 or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichiʔ is
[237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregaːnsa and the yaichiʔ are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuːru-pregaːnsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so,
184 but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do.
[304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.
301 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special
304 occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.
301 The most prized type of pendant, panadainoʔ, and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32 A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away
[152] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aroʼ, and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsaʼ (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301
178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304
[184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [534] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

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386
824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karõi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[text continues on p. 157]

[137] [see footnote on p. 323, category 116—Analyst]

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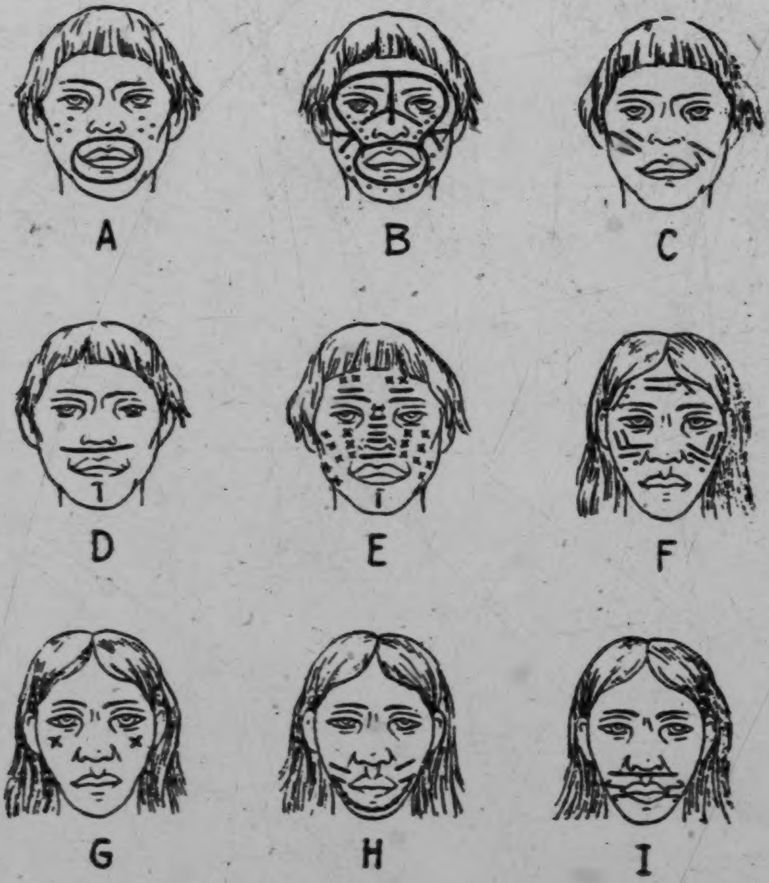

Fig. 34 — Arekuna Face Painting and Tattooing.
A - H, Kamarakotos. A, adolescent male, caruto painting. B, adolescent male, caruto painting. C, young boy, onoto painting. D, adult male, caruto painting. E, adult male, caruto painting, worn by drummer at dance. F, young female, whole face smeared with onoto and design applied over this with caruto. G, adult female, tattooing. H, adult female, tattooing. I, Taurepán, tattooed adult female with typical Taurepán hook pattern not seen among Kamarakotos.

302 386 824 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with *karõi*). The *Genipa* tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: *anonda* and *karaberõ*. The first is the even better known *Bixa* — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with *anonda*). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the *mausa-yẹ'*, a palm probably *Elaeis* sp., for use. The other red dye, *karaberõ*, is prepared from leaves of a vine, *Bignonia*, (*sens. lat.* exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil. [439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, *kurawõri*, probably, like its name, merely a variety of *karaberõ*.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 101 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana [119] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p.323, category 116 - Analyst]

Materials.

28
128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly — cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic — necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

286 "III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawaiʼ of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285
824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is *tsimoʔ*, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably *Ischnosiphon* sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and *manare* in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called *wadapi*, a species of *Desmoncus*, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of *manare*.

Spinning and Twisting.

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128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283
171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakaïrí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

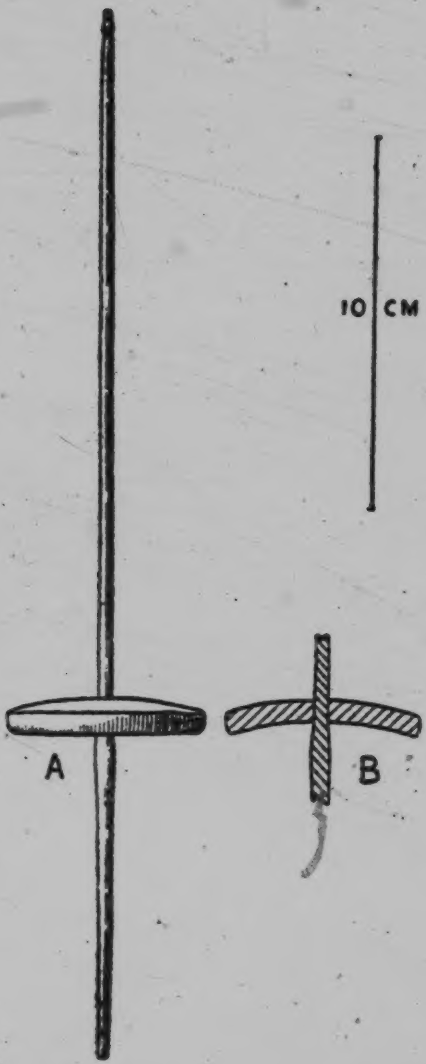

Fig. 35 — Kamarakoto Spindle.
A, side view of spindle. B, partial cross section showing fitting of whorl on spindle.

[724] The whorl is discoidal, undecorated, and usually is a thick but light piece of calabash with the convex side up. It is considerably nearer the lower than

283 [170] the upper end. The upper, working, end does not have a hook but a head, a slight double swelling formed by notching. This is a common type of spindle among the coast Caribs and the Motilones, and it is remarkably like many Bolivian spindles, but it is curiously unlike the Taurepân spindle which, according to Koch-Grünberg, has the whorl, which is usually decorated, near the middle and has a hook. It is still less like the Maquiritare type, which is much larger and is used horizontally and not dropped.

In use, the unspun cotton is held in the left hand, the spindle is started rotating by rolling the lower shaft (below the whorl) on the right thigh with the right hand, and it is then dropped, still whirling (Fig. 36). Tension is kept up by the left hand and by the weight of the spindle when dropped. This is the procedure also of the Taurepânes, despite their different spindle, and of most of the other tribes of this region but not, as has been noted, of the Maquiritares.

In all the Kamarakoto spun cotton that I have examined the spinning is to the left, i. e., when the thread is held horizontally the fibers (in the basic [171] single strand) run from left-up to right-down. This is true also of the Taurepânes and Maquiritares and probably of Caribs generally, as far as the point has been determined, but the non-Carib Bakaïrís, who have given their name to this general type of spindle, spin to the right and so do many other tribes. Left-spinning is not exclusive to the Caribs but it is certainly one of their striking characteristics.

The single strand thread resulting from one spinning is, if well-made, very fine and rather weak and it is almost never used in this form. Usually two strands are attached and are twisted together on another spindle, making a two-ply twine. This spinning is always in the opposite direction, i. e. to the right, which keeps the first twist tight. Two two-ply strands are often twisted again, this time to the left, to make a composite four-ply twine, a double two-ply. A straight three-, four-, five-, and up to eight- (or even more) ply twine may also be made by one twist, to the right, from the basic strands and various combinations occur. A 21-ply heavy cord made from three 7-ply strands is not uncommon, and I have seen a piece of 93-ply cord, as strong as rope, made of three twists of thirt-one strands each, but I am not certain that this was Kamarakoto although so informed by the Indians. This heaviest twining is not done on a spindle but is rolled on the thigh with the palm of the hand.

All these native twines are remarkably fine and uniform and sometimes can hardly be distinguished from a machine-made cotton twine.

Moriche and curagua twines are not made with a spindle but are rolled on the right thigh with the right hand while the fibers are fed and tension adjusted with the left hand. Long strings finer and stronger than those of cotton may thus be made and like cotton twine they are usually of more than one ply, with about the same repertory as for cotton. With these fibers, however, and especially curagua, the number of individual fibers in the basic strand can be more exactly

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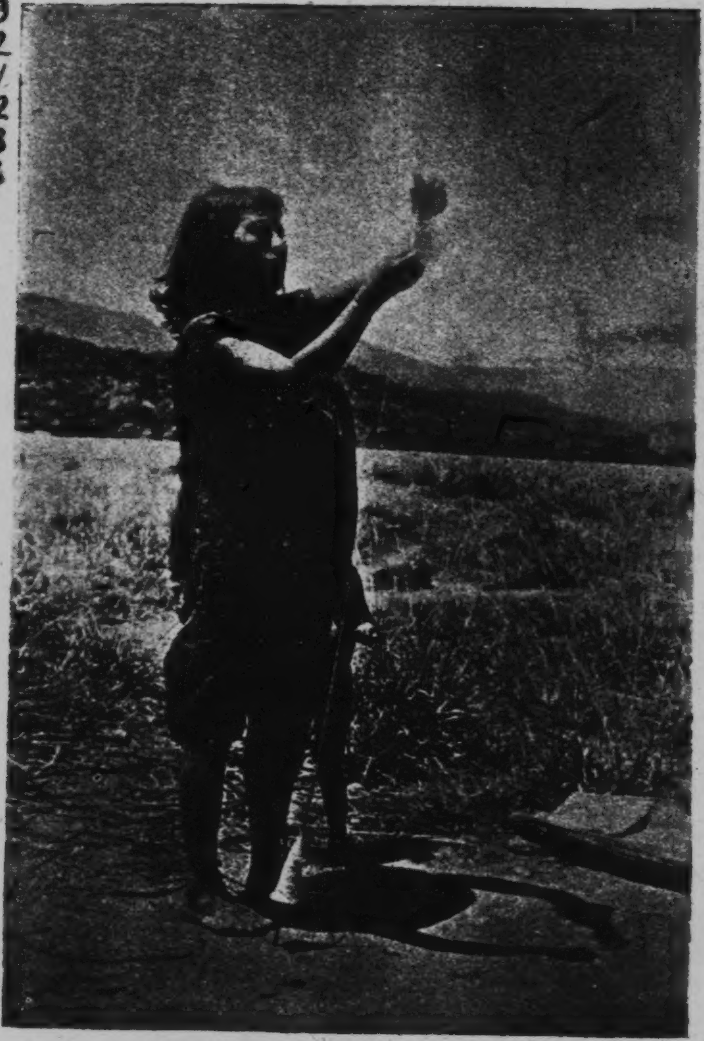

Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand- [171] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

[142] [see footnote on p.323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[176] [462] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[171] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[121] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

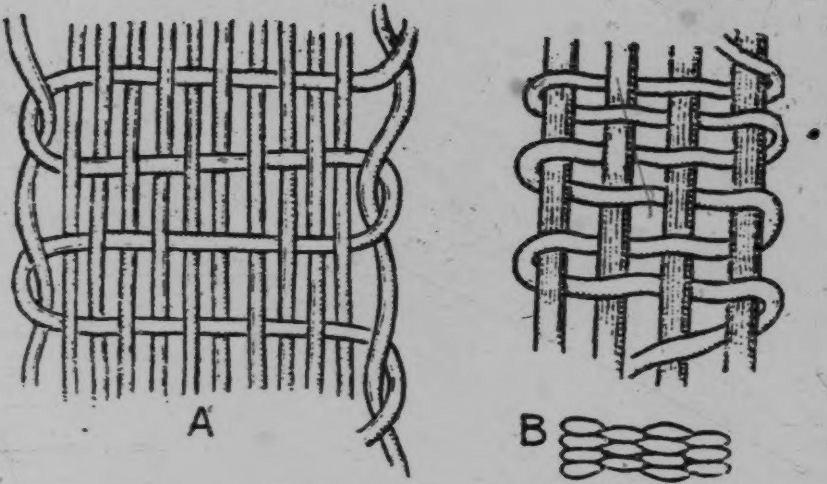

Fig. 37 — Kamarakoto Woven Thread Textiles.
A, strap weave with equally flexible warp and weft; when the fabric is closed the surface is formed by the warp. B, band or headdress weave with relatively inflexible warp; in the actual closed fabric the surface is formed by the weft, as shown below. These are diagrams to show the weave. In the actual object the threads are, of course, twisted and the fabric is closed and tight. The headband in Fig. 33E is woven like B of this figure and the carrying strap in Fig. 43A like A of this figure.

formed wholly by the weft and thus consists of a number of longitudinal ridges, almost always four, each composed of transverse strands. In the other variety, producing somewhat wider and decidedly flatter bands generally used as carrying straps, for instance on a pakara, warp and weft are of the same character, almost always simple two-ply threads. Here the weft is essentially straight in the finished fabric and the warp forms the surface, which thus has numerous transverse ridges composed of longitudinal strands.

The process used to make hammocks is fundamentally unlike true weaving, although it uses a crude loom, and the name loom-twining seems most appropriate for it. The loom is the simplest conceivable and is barely worthy of the name, consisting only of two upright posts set in the ground. The continuous warp strand is wrapped around this in an elongate spiral until the necessary width is reached, and the warp is thus horizontal and as originally stretched has one set of strands in front of and another behind the posts. The weft consists of

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekunas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

[143] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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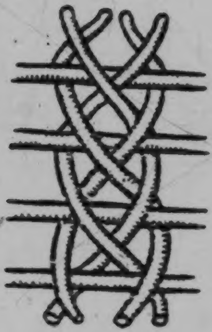

Fig. 38 — Kamarakoto Hammock Crosstie. Diagram showing how the four-strand crosstie holds the longitudinal warp strands of the hammock. In the actual hammock the warp strands, here shown as single for clarity, are always double.

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171 Nordenskiöld calls this technique Tumupasa, from a group of Tacana-speaking Indians northeast of Lake Titicaca, who use it, and he shows that it has a very curious distribution: in the Guiana region here considered and in the far southwestern part of the Amazon Basin (Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 26). It is barely conceivable that so complex a technique could have arisen independently in these two areas, but no satisfactory explanation has been given for its occurrence in two regions so separate geographically, culturally and racially.

286 In this technique there is no distinction of warp and weft. All the strands are placed on the loom in the same direction and all are treated in the same way, intertwining them with each other, so that the process is pure plaiting and not weaving even though a loom is used: This loom consists of two crossed sticks, like a large X, with a transverse stick tied across each end (Fig. 41). A new loom is improvised when needed and no care is taken in their manufacture except to see that the transverse bars are smooth so that the thread slips on them easily. The thread is tightly wound in a long spiral around these end pieces just as, on a much larger scale, the hammock warp is wound. When in use, one end of the loom is grasped with the toes and the other end rests on the knees or upper legs, leaving the hands free for plaiting (Fig. 42).

To make the simplest pattern, one-over-one, the first thread (on the worker's left side) is passed under the second, then drawn above it and looped over the fingers (first finger or first two or three) of the left hand. Then the

[text continues on p. 169]

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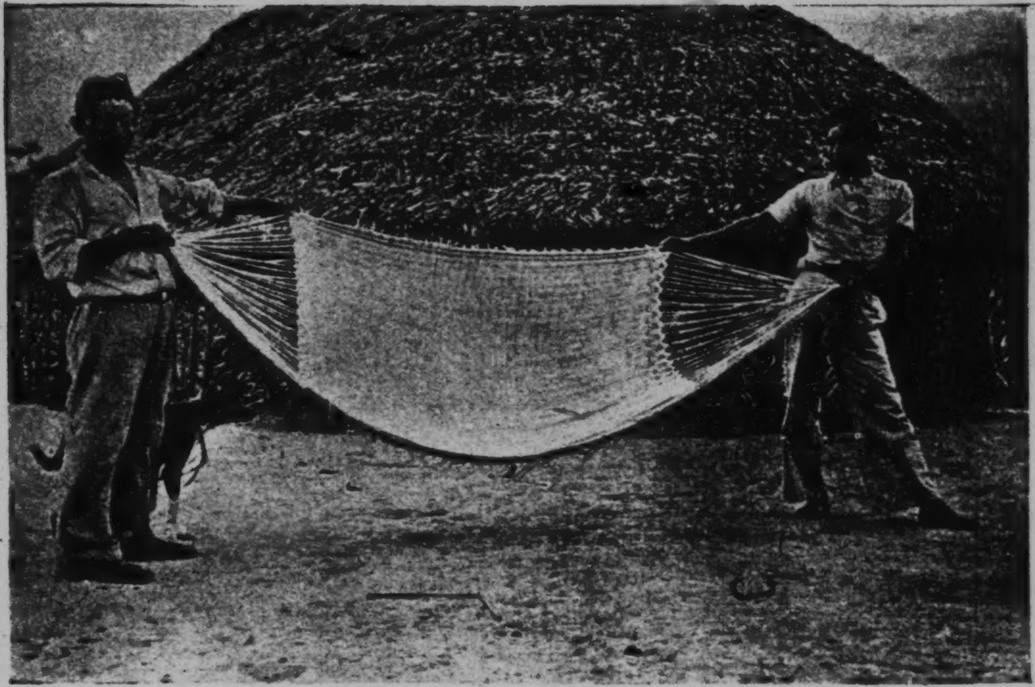

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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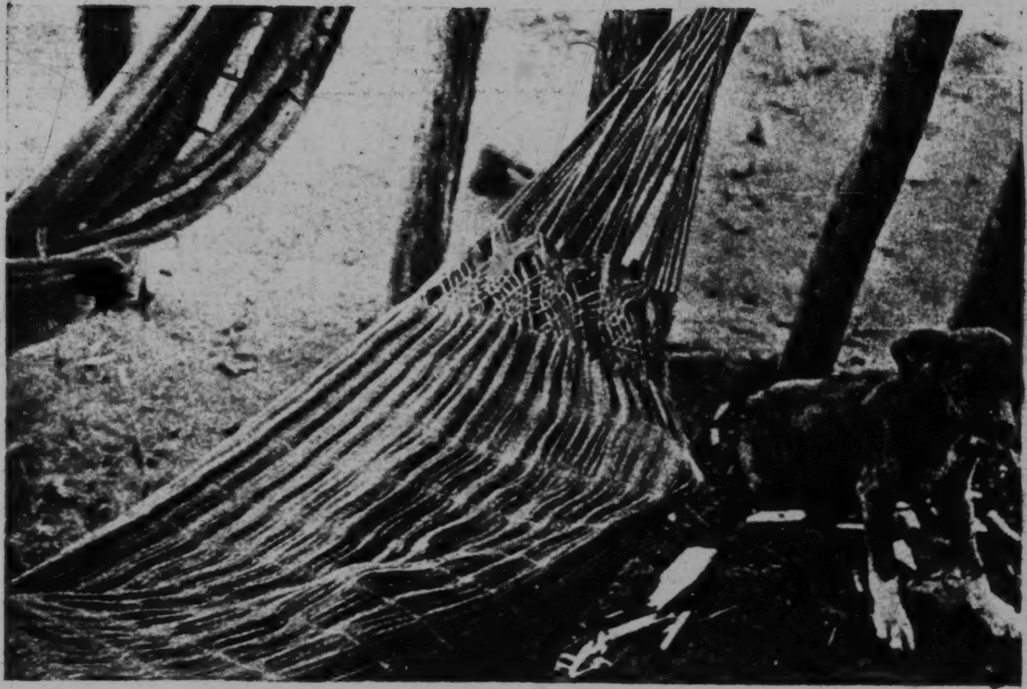

Fig. 40 – Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

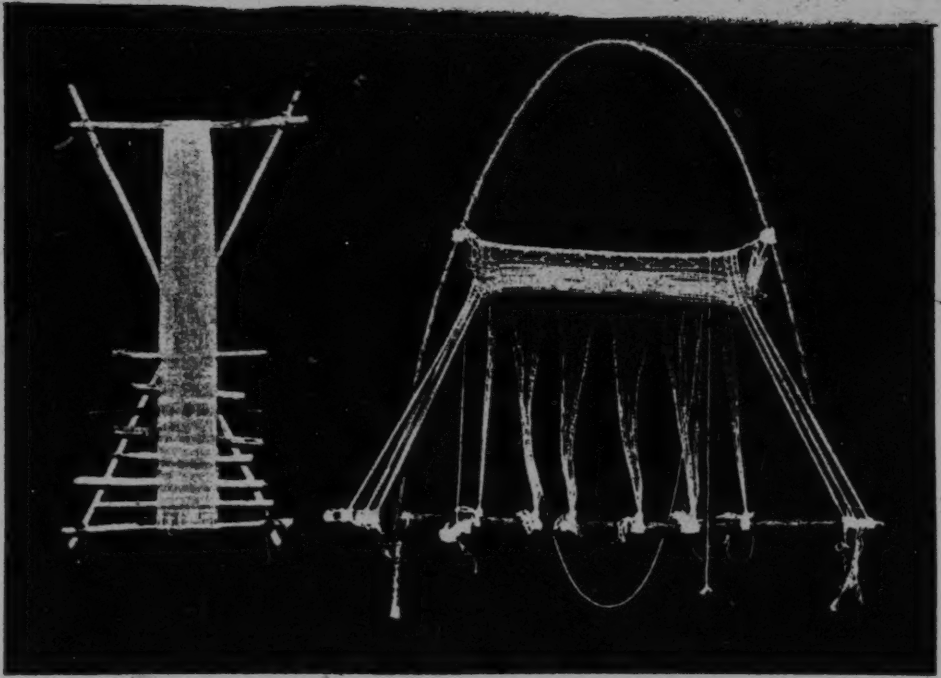

Fig. 41.– Kamarakoto Looms.

A, plaiting loom; the plaiting is done with the fingers at the upper end where a section of finished fabric can be seen (this is much narrower than the slings usually made on such a loom). B, bead apron loom; the upper border and part of the adjacent body of the apron are completed.

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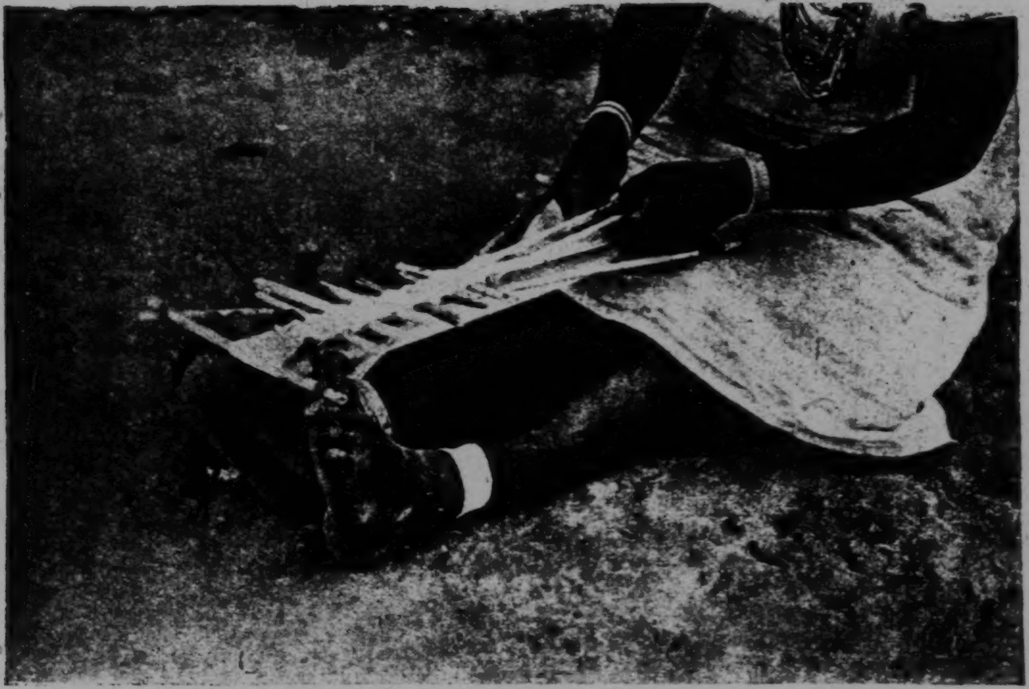

Fig. 42 — Kamarakoto Plaiting Loom.
The loom in Fig. 41 A is here shown in use.

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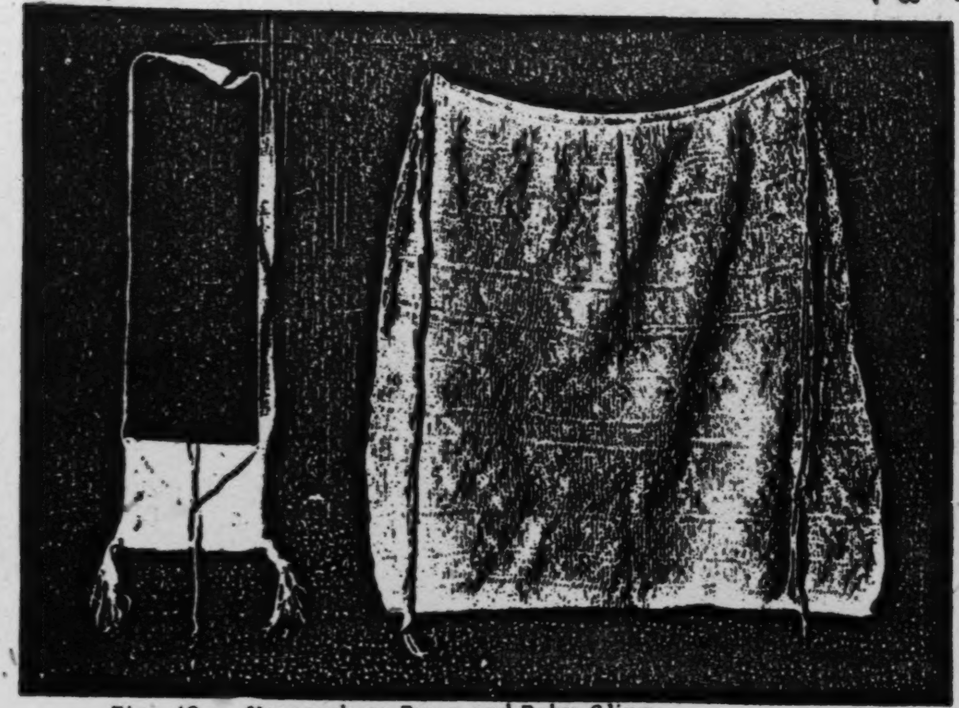

Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A. cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B. cotton baby-sling.

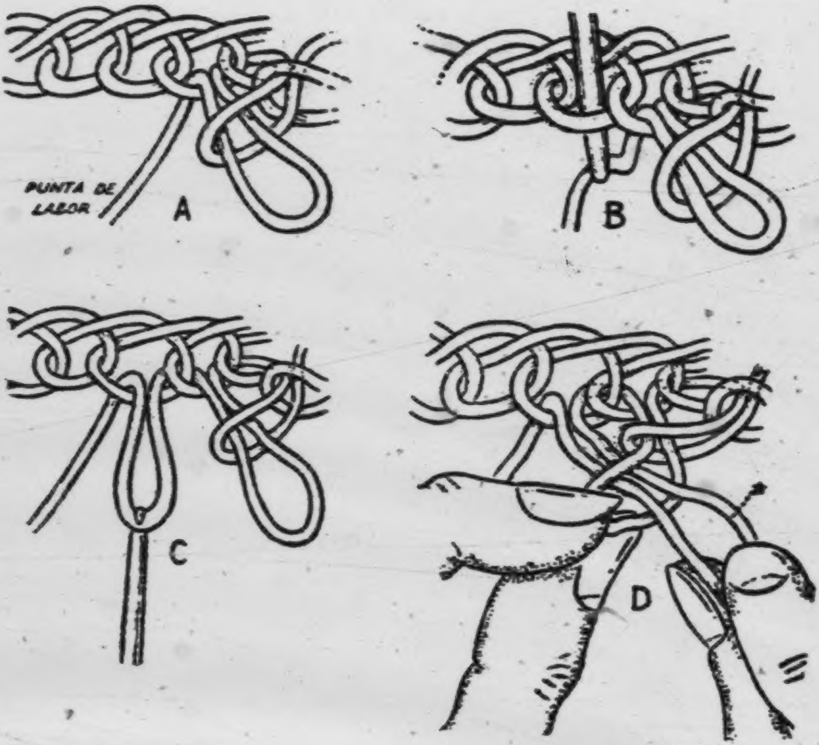

Fig. 44 — Kamarakoto One-needle Crocheting.
In the stage of work shown, the starting chain (top) has been made and the second row is being crocheted. A, work with free loop left from last operation. B, needle is inserted through chain (or last row) and catches working end of thread. C, new loop is pulled through with needle. D, new loop is slipped through former loop with fingers; by pulling on the thread at the point marked with a star, the work is now tightened and the condition seen in A again appears, one stitch farther to the left. The body of the pouch in Fig. 43A is made in this way, as are also some of the leg bands visible on the women in various photographs.

286 third thread is similarly twisted on the fourth, the fifth on the sixth, etc., until the right-hand side is reached. Obviously there must be an even number of strands for this pattern, and in fact the number used is always a multiple of four in order to allow of variations using two strands at once.

When the edge is reached, a smooth, round piece of wood is inserted in place of the fingers, pulled toward the near end of the frame to tighten the fabric, then the left fingers are inserted between the front and back strands on the near side of the stick. The front strands, starting now at the right edge, are successively slid off the finger while between each a back strand is picked up and placed on the fingers of the right hand, in such a way as to twist each back strand across and then above a front strand, just as was done the first time across but now working in the reverse direction. On reaching the other (now the left) side, another stick is inserted and the process is repeated, back and forth from one side to the other.

When the number of sticks becomes so great (commonly ten or twelve) that too much tension is produced, the farthest stick is pushed right around the end of the frame and up its other side until the twist in the strands that it pushes ahead of it reaches, at the near end, that put in and held by the fingers, and then the stick is removed. Then the second, third, etc., sticks are similarly slid around and removed, leaving only two or three in place, and the plaiting proceeds as before. Thus on the back, or under side, of the frame the sticks produce a fabric at the same time that the fingers do on the upper side which is equal in amount to that formed on top, on the near side of the fingers, and is an exact mirror image of the latter. In order to keep the working place conveniently near the body, the whole completed part of the fabric can, from time to time, be slid around to the lower side of the frame.

When the fingers have thus plaited what amounts to the full length of one side of the frame, the sticks have produced an equal amount and the whole thing is completely plaited in a continuous circular band. If, now, the last sticks were removed, the two reversed halves would run into each other and the plaiting would quickly unravel. It is necessary to insert a join or lock between the two. This may be done by replacing the last two, three or four sticks with transverse strings, or, more elegantly, by a crosstie similar to the plaited hammock crosstie described above. In either case the transverse locking strings are tied together at the edge of the band and their long ends are left dangling. Not uncommonly these ends are decorated with tassels, bead streamers, seeds, etc.

The simple one-over-one pattern described is seldom used, as a matter of fact. The commonest patterns are one-over-two and two-over-two. In the one-over-two pattern a single thread is twisted under or over the next two, etc., across the band. The two-over-two is exactly like the one-over-one except that pairs of threads are used each time instead of single threads. By

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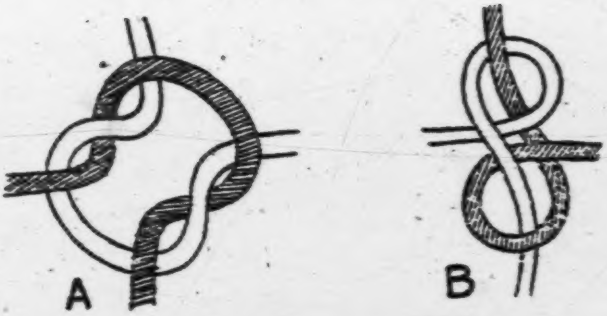

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

[171] The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kaliñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

[144] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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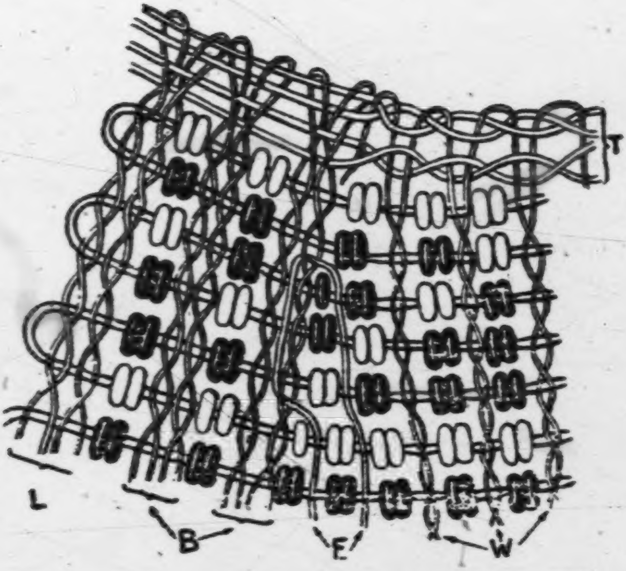

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb [293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the [227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

[145] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116-Analyst]

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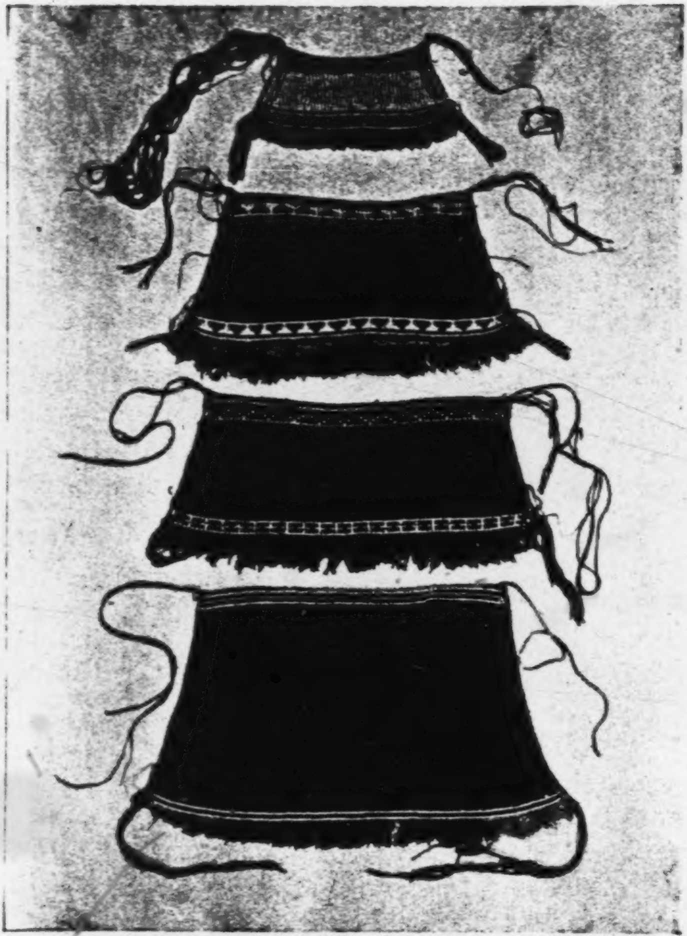

Fig. 47 — Kamarakoto Bead Aprons.

Four typical bead aprons, motsa or mosa. The upper apron, for a small girl, is mainly white with red, white, and blue borders and a blue bead belt. The second is mainly blue with blue and white borders and red beads along top of fringe. The other two are plain blue with blue and white borders. In all four the cotton fringe is irregularly smeared pink or red.

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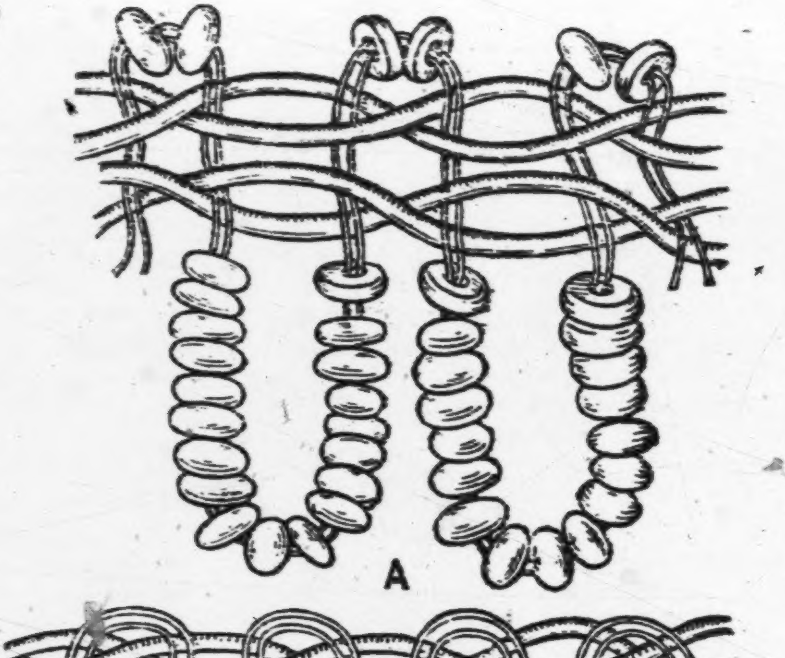

Fig. 48 — Kamarakoto Bead Necklace Technique.
A, B, two types of festooned necklaces. In the finished necklace the work is drawn tight and is shown here in a diagrammatic way for clarity. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is made by this technique.

Beadwork.

286 Beaded textiles form a distinct class because the beads are integral parts of the fabric and not merely applied in a textile that would be self-sustaining without them. The rigid hole of the bead joins threads or permits a change in their direction without the threads themselves necessarily interlocking in any way, as is necessary in all textiles without beads.

The most complicated and important beadwork is the construction of the moaa or woman's apron. (See Fig. 46) This is woven on a loom made by bending a flexible stick into a wide inverted U and tying a straight stick across near the ends (Fig. 41 B). A bundle of four stout cotton strings is tied across this frame in its upper part, the ends left long and tied to the frame temporarily — they later become or are attached to the belt by which the apron is suspended. Warp strands, each a lightly twisted two-ply cotton thread, are tied into this in a manner analogous to the simpler four-strand hammock crosstie and exactly like the tie for festooned bead necklaces. (Fig. 48). A bundle of four warp strands on each side is tied at the end of the crossbar, outside the curved frame, to form the edges of the apron, and a second bundle of four, and sometimes a third or an additional bundle of two, is tied in the same place on each side medial to these border strands. As the weft is applied, it is worked into the edge strands so that they form a tie on the weft like the top crosstie on the warp and make a finished edge. Two beads on each weft strand are left between this and the next bundle of four warp strands and if there is a third bundle two beads are similarly left between it and the second bundle and these bundles are tied in like the edge bundle or, if there are only two strands in the third bundle, with a simple spiral twist like the simplest two-strand hammock tie (as described by Roth, for instance — the Kamarakotos themselves do not use a two-strand tie in hammocks).

The beads are strung on two strands of very fine two-ply cotton thread, the two strands being kept separate although strung together through each bead. A meter or so may be strung at one time. These strung beads form the weft. In the cases I have seen, the work is speeded up by working in two distinct weft strands at once, then doubling back with both. In descriptions of similar work among related tribes only one weft strand is mentioned.

The way of working the weft strands in the border bundles of warp strands has already been mentioned. In the main body of the apron the process is different. Here the warp strands not in use are lightly tied in several (five, six, or more) bundles on the crossbar to keep them from snarling. To work in the weft, the appropriate warp bundle is untied and the first warp strand of the bundle run between the two threads on which the beads are strung, then the next warp strand is run through, and so on, in each case leaving two beads between adjacent warp strands.

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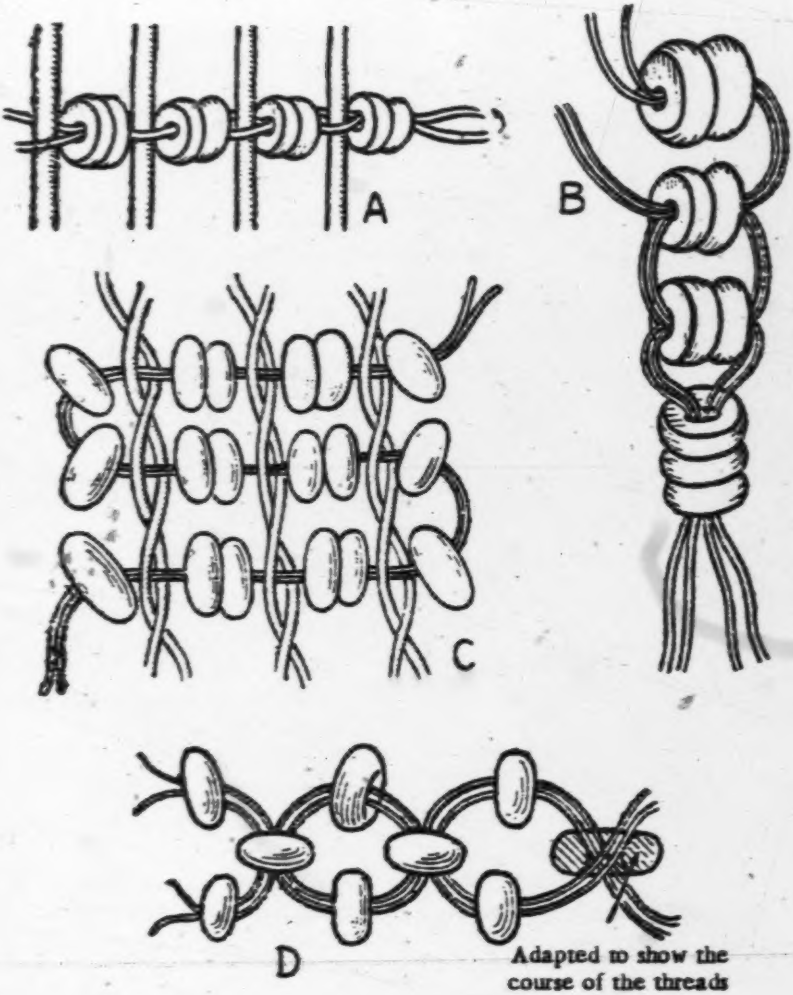

Adapted to show the course of the threads

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Fig. 49 — Kamarakoto Bead Technique.
A. the basic fabric (apron) technique. see Fig. 46. B. C. D. various necklace techniques. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is woven by the technique shown here in C.

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.
[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.
Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.
Pans.
Plates and trays for serving food.
Casave presses.
Casave sifters.
Trays for drying cotton, etc.
Bird cages.
Fish traps.
Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture.

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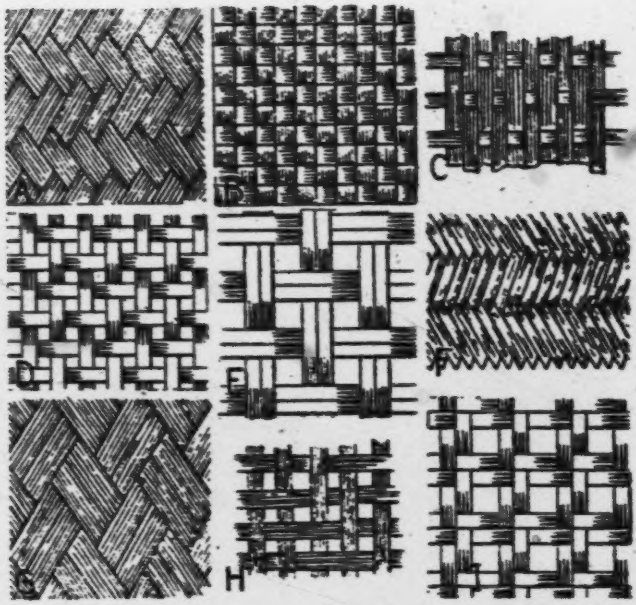

Fig. 50 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise noted.

A. One-over-two twilled woven plaiting. B. closed checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C. half-open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. D. open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Siuai.) E. open, two-over-two, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Patamona.) F. all-over, one-over-four, twilled woven plaiting. G. all-over, two-over-three, twilled woven plaiting. H. all-over, open, single-strand, one-over-two twilled woven plaiting. I. all-over, open, paired-interwoven-strand twilled woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.)

*285 nor do they use special baskets for religious purposes, or in connection with burial rites.

[128] In attempting a summary of this abundant and complex material it is convenient to consider first the basic techniques involved, the way in which the materials are united to form basketry textiles, and next the forms, functions, and nomenclature of the objects produced. Basketry is here taken to include all textile work made of untwisted materials, as opposed to the thread-textiles and thread-and-bead textiles, and so includes such things as mats and trays that are not, strictly speaking, baskets.

*285 114 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, †. Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------------PLAITING.

*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)-----------Plain Plaiting.

†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]------------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

*1 over 2.

Etc.

*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)-----------------Woven Plaiting.

*1. Elements in two directions

*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

†Closed

*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

*1 over 1

*1 over 2

Etc.

146 [see footnote on p.324, category 116 - Analyst]

*285

†Open (both sets of elements). (Oblique and rectangular varieties occur, but the difference is probably not essential.)
- † 1 over 1
- † 2 over 2
- Etc.

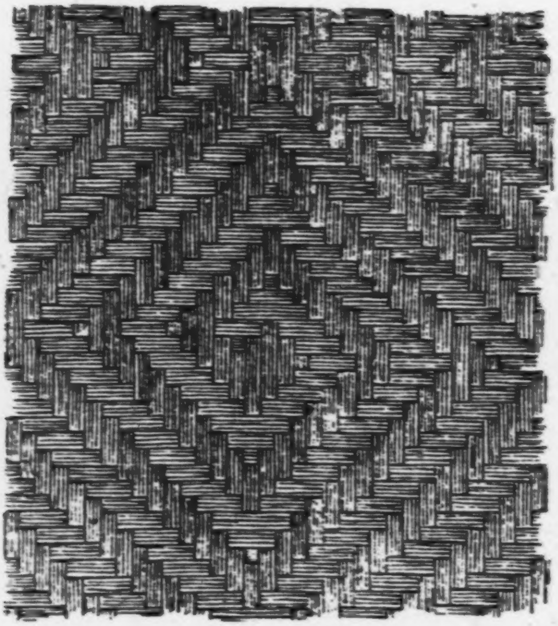

Fig. 51 — Kamarakoto Basketry Technique. Typical section of twilled woven plaiting with an internal pattern.

*b. Stepped complexly alternating quadrangles------ Twilled Woven Plaiting.

*With all-over pattern (constant over-and-under formula)
- *Closed
  - †1 over 2
  - *1 over 3
  - *1 over 4
  - *2 over 3
  - Etc.

*285

*Open

*Single strands

*1 over 2

†1 over 3

Etc.

† Paired interwoven strands

*With internal pictorial pattern (varied over-and-under formula).

(Always closed)

*2. Elements in more than two directions------Lattice woven plaiting.

*a. Additional elements crossing a quadrangular base-----Crossed quadrangular lattice.

*Base strands untwilled.

† Elements in three directions (only single-crossed variety recorded).[147]

*Elements in four directions

*Singly crossed (leaving some open squares)

†Doubly crossed in one direction

*Base strands twilled.

†Base of paired interwoven strands

† Elements in three directions

† Elements in four directions

*Base of single strand, slightly open, all-over twill.

*Base twilled

*b. Hexagonal basic pattern (all with elements in three directions)----------Hexagonal lattice.

*Base strands single (or two-ply treated as one)

*Without extra strands (leaving hexagonal openings)

*Extra strands in one direction

†Extra strands in two directions

*Extra strands in three directions

*Base of paired interwoven (twilled) strands

†2-ply in all directions

†3-ply in two directions and 2-ply in the other

*II. Relatively flexible active elements (weft) woven across relatively inflexible passive elements (warp)--------------- -- WEAVING.

*A. Weft interlaced--- -------------------------------Wicker Weave.

*1. Warp in one direction

*a. Simple alternating quadrangles (usually one-over-one)----------- - -- - ------ ------Checked Wicker.

†b. Stepped or complexly alternating quadrangles (one-over-two, etc.)-----------------Twilled Wicker.

147[see footnote on p.324, category 11b - Analyst]

*285

2. Warps in more than one direction------------Lattice Wicker.
†B. Weft twined (two or more intertwined strands in each weft element)----------------------------------Twined Weave.
†1. Warp in one direction---------------------Plain and Twilled Twined Weave.
2. Warps in more than one direction----------- Lattice Twined Weave.
*C. Weft wrapped (single weft strand doubling around warp elements)----------------------------------Wrapped Weave.
1. Warp in one direction---------------------Plain and Twilled Wrapped Weave.
*2. Warps in more than one direction-----------Lattice Wrapped Weave.
†D. Weft locked or imbricate[148]-----------------Locked Weave.
III. Active element coiled, or coiled along a passive element-----COILING.
A. One element, jointly active and passive-------------Crude Coil.
B. Separate active and passive elements------------Foundation Coil.[149]

*285 128 171 Recent classifications based on North American basketry usually recognize five main techniques: plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coiling, of which the second to fourth are often united as weaving and contrasted with coiling and with plaiting. Schmidt long ago pointed out that such a classification, excellent for most of North America, is very poor when South American baskets are included and that, indeed, the most common and typical of all South American baskets cannot properly be placed in any of these categories. They often have a relatively active (weft) and a relatively inactive (warp) set of elements, and so resemble weaving rather than plaiting, but they are not wicker in any usual use of that word and are not twined or wrapped in any possible sense of those words. On the other hand, they may be made with all the elements about equally "active" or "passive," and hence be considered as plaiting, but the technique and the result are not essentially unlike the more literally "woven" basketry and cannot logically be considered as in a different major category.

Schmidt maintains, and I think with considerable probability, that this most important class of South American basketry is genetically related to plaiting rather than to weaving even though in some variations it falls within some technical definitions of weaving. It probably arose from the still widely used plaiting of segments of palm leaves, left attached to their midrib, and developed in the direction of weaving when unattached fibers, particularly split reeds, were used. Such work did not develop over most of North America because its primitive material, palm leaves, was generally absent there, although some North American work converged toward it departing not from plaiting but from wicker weaving. Thus of the two techniques, even though

148, 149 [see footnotes on pp. 324-25, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 183]

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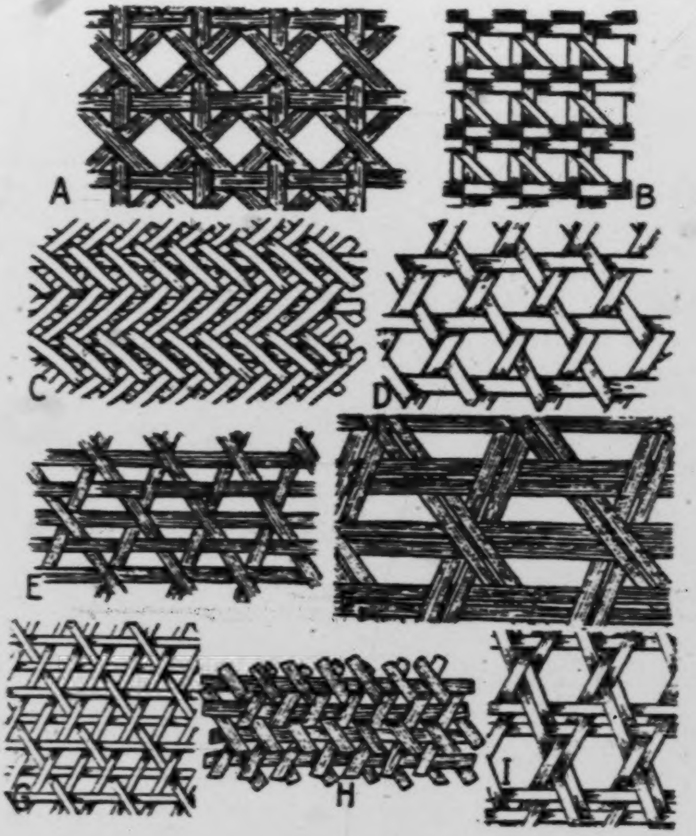

Fig. 52 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise stated.

A. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base strands untwilled, elements in four directions. B. Crossed quadrangular lattice, paired twilled base strands, elements in three directions. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base of single-strand one-over-three twill, crossed in one direction. D. Plain single-strand hexagonal lattice. E. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in one direction. F. Same as E but double-strand. G. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in two directions. (After Roth, tribe not designated.) H. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions. I. Two-ply hexagonal lattice of twilled, paired strands. (After Roth, tribe not specified.)

*285 128 171 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 128 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertinent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigidly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matu:tu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] [286] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of lattice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique really has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

[150] [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warraus, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp[151] is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285 171 100 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques, the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.[152] It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most *285 171 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples *285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnotes on p. 325, category 116 – Analyst]

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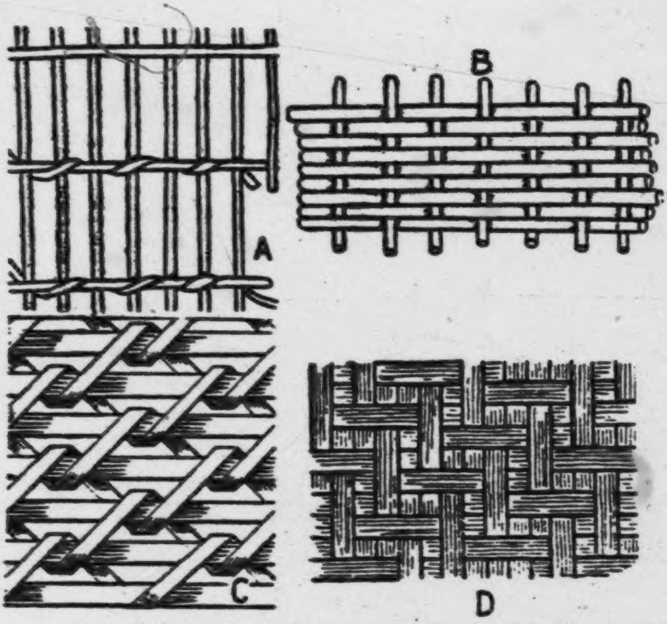

Fig. 53 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
A. Lattice wrapped weave (relatively stiff warp elements in two directions wrapped together by a flexible weft). Kamarakoto. B. Checked wicker. Kamarakoto. C. Locked weave. Tribe not specified (after Roth). D. An unusual, complex twill seen on a basket in use by Taurepánes, by some said to be made by that tribe and by others, said to be Makuchi, but surely Carib of the Roroima Region.

*285 to the various open twilled and lattice patterns and so is avoided by the more expert workers. The Kamarakotos do use a half-open checked woven plaiting (which, as will be understood by reference to the illustrations, Fig. 50 C, produces a weak closed fabric), but only as the inner layer of two-ply baskets and in some dubious examples that can better be classified as wicker weaving. It is never used for the main and independent fabric of a whole basket.

The only other conspicuous gaps in the Kamarakoto basketry repertory — and these may be known to someone in the tribe since they are everywhere relatively rare — are the crossed quadrangular lattices on a paired twilled base and multiple-strand twilled hexagonal lattices. These are complex patterns surely not beyond the skill of a Kamarakoto but with no incentive for

[text continues on p. 186]

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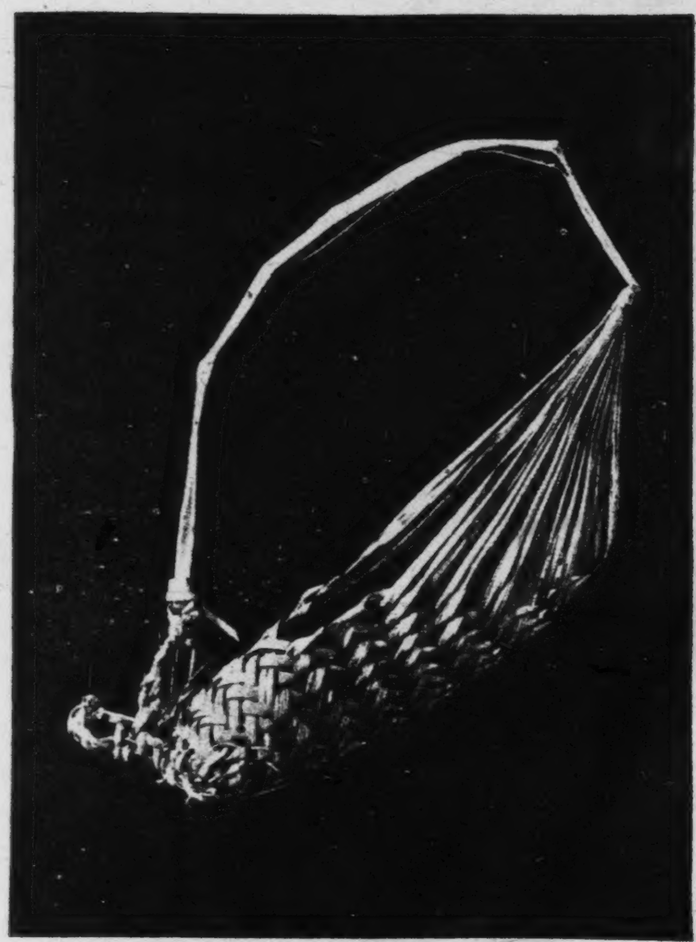

Fig. 54 — Taurepán Basket.

[824] A worokopə, variety of pakarama, made by plain plaiting of a single moriche palm leaf.

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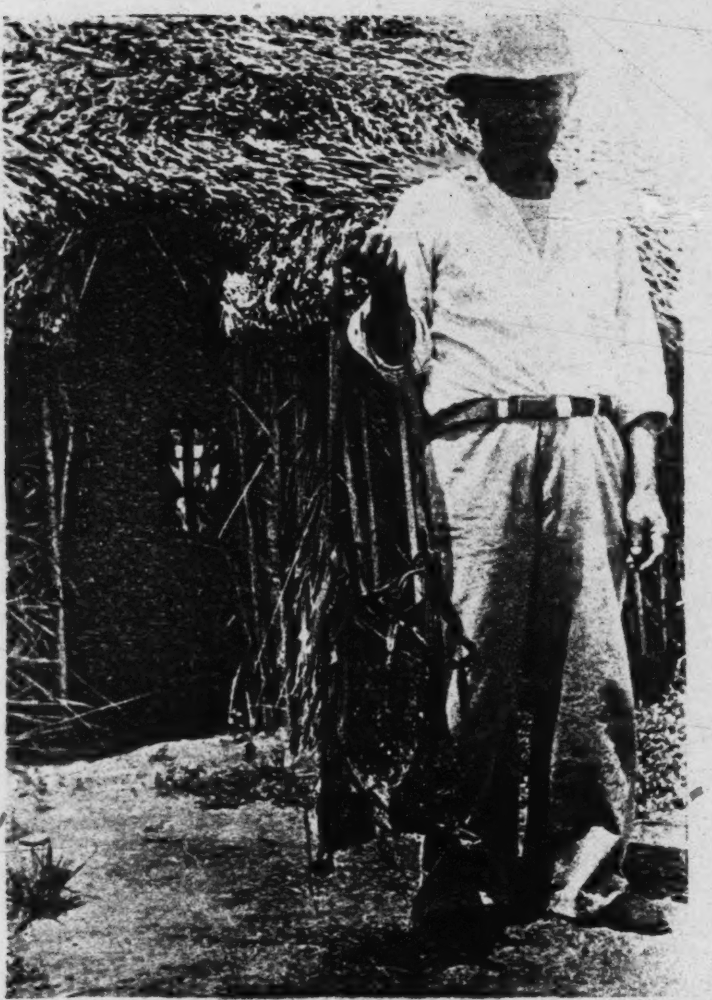

Fig. 55 — Kamarakoto Basket.

A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

*285 their use since they serve no better, in some cases even worse, than the simpler lattices. The Taurepánes do rarely use a crossed quadrangular lattice with paired twilled base, but the hexagonal pattern with multiple-strand twilled base occurs among no close allies of the Kamarakotos and is exceedingly rare. I know of only two recorded examples, one reported by de Goeje (1906, Pl. IX, Fig. 12) from Dutch Guiana and one recorded by Roth (1924, Fig. 188) found in British Guiana but of unknown tribal origin.

*285 171 176 On the other hand the Kamarakotos probably use no basketry techniques that are entirely unknown to other tribes and it is doubtful whether they have originated anything in this field. Indeed it is almost impossible now to point to any tribe that can be said definitely to have originated a basketry technique. The whole complex has spread over the whole region, with some irregularity but without clear regard for tribal or geographic divisions. Some tribes are more skilled than others — the Kamarakotos rank very high but perhaps not at the top in this respect — and each group has some tendency to prefer certain techniques and to reject others more or less similar, so that despite the general diffusion of this basketry culture each local group can be separately characterized in these details. I have identified one Kamarakoto basketry weave that is at least rare if not wholly unknown elsewhere, but it is also rare among the Kamarakotos and it is unlikely that it is really confined to or was definitely originated by this tribe. (Fig. 52 C.)

*285 171 Articles made of basketwork. The following outline classification includes most, but not quite all, of the general classes of basketry objects used in this broad culture area with, of course, more detailed attention to those observed among the Kamarakotos. In cases where such an object of native manufacture was definitely seen in use among the Kamarakotos, its name is given.

I. Mats.
    A. Plain plaited.
            Large door and floor mat----------------kumara-katsa'.
    B. Woven plaited.
            Twilled quadrangular fan or plate--------o. olori.
II. Trays (and sieves).
    A. Circular.
        1. Closework.
            Fine, rail-edged, pictorial twill---------o:apa.
        2. Openwork.
    B. Quadrangular.
        1. Closework.
            a. Edged mat.
            b. Basket tray.
            Basketry and rail-edged, with legs------matu:tu.

2. Part or all openwork (sieves).
Rail-edged, open twill------------------------pangaiʔ.
III. Sacks and allied forms.
A. Plain plaited.
Deep back-carrying bag--------------------wakawaʔ.
B. Woven plaited.
IV. Baskets, strictly speaking.
A. Hexagonal base.
Closer weave, extra weft strands.
Deep, without worked-in handle------waricha.
Less deep, with spirally wound
loop handle-----------------------warakapi.
More open weave, no extra weft strand.
(otherwise like waricha)-------ɛno-saramba.
B. Circular or elliptical base.
1. Radiate foundation.
2. Vertebrate foundation.
Flask-shaped, wicker weave-----------------tsimuiʔ.
3. Diaphragm foundation.
4. Unenclosed foundation.[153]
C. Conical base.
D. Rectangular base.
1. Openwork.
2. Closework.
a. Checked.
b. Wicker weave.
c. Twilled woven plaiting (hourglass).
aa. Base equidimensional.
Flask-shaped, rim flaring, not re-enforced------sokoʔ.
Bucket-shaped, rim not flaring, re-enforced-----wapa.
bb. Base elongate.
Chest with cover---------------------------ama:tu.
V. Presses.
Casave press--------------------------------tangõiʔ.
VI. Back-packs (knapsacks).
A. Openwork bottom----------------------------------akaiʔ.
B. Closework bottom--------------------------------koataiʔ.
VII. Quivers.
Blowgun-dart quiver-------------------------mõi-yɛ.
VIII. Fish traps (or creels).
Wrapped lattice trap-------------------------muroiʔ.

[153] [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been abandoned. [178] [797] In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), [482] ending freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the
highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the ama:tu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within
the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the
Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarako-
tos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto
specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
[171] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth
has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas,
Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

[154] [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as true weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

[171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ocapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

[171] The casave sifter, pangai' (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern.

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

[Text continues on p. 191]

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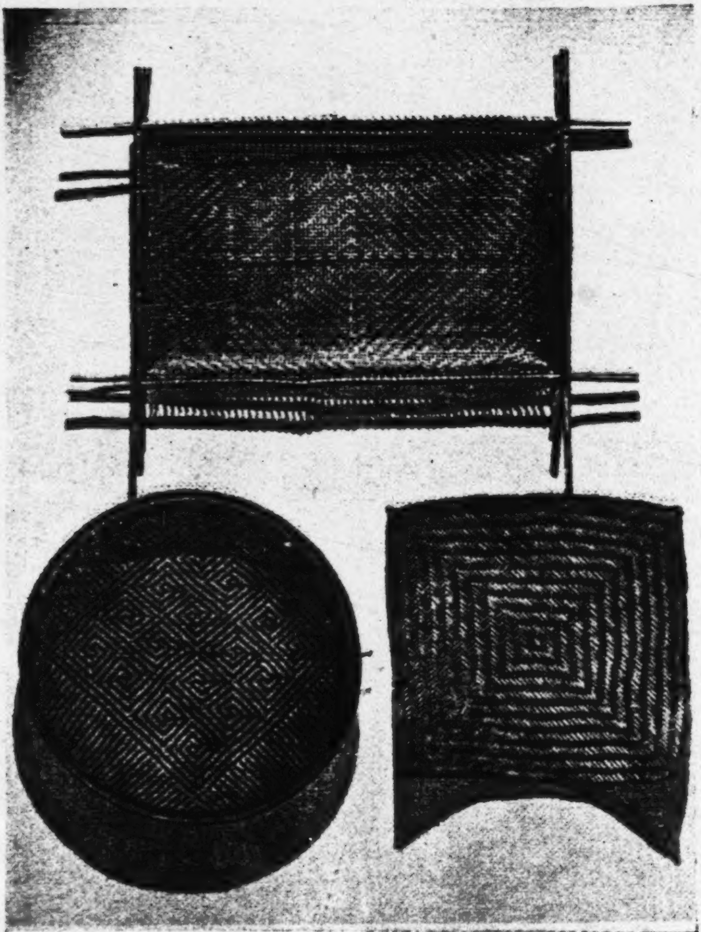

Fig. 56 – Guayana Indian Basketware.
A and C are Kamarakoto, B Maquiritare (Maiongon), in use among Kamarakotos and almost identical with some made by them. A, casave sifter, pangai'. B, o:apa. C, o.olori.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

190b

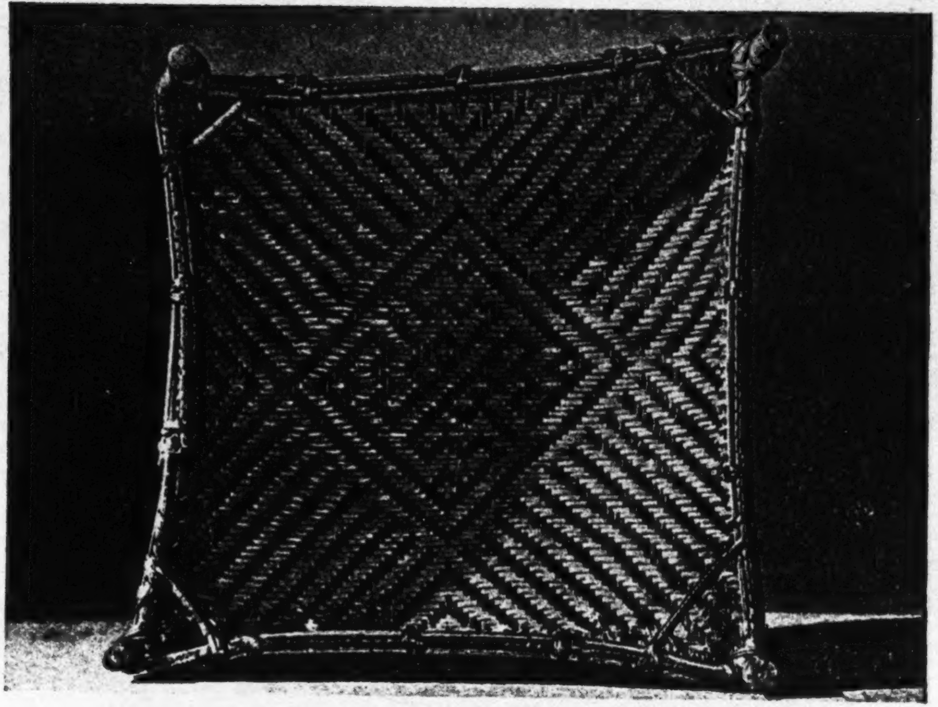

Fig. 57 – Kamarakoto Basketware.
A small matu:tu, top view.

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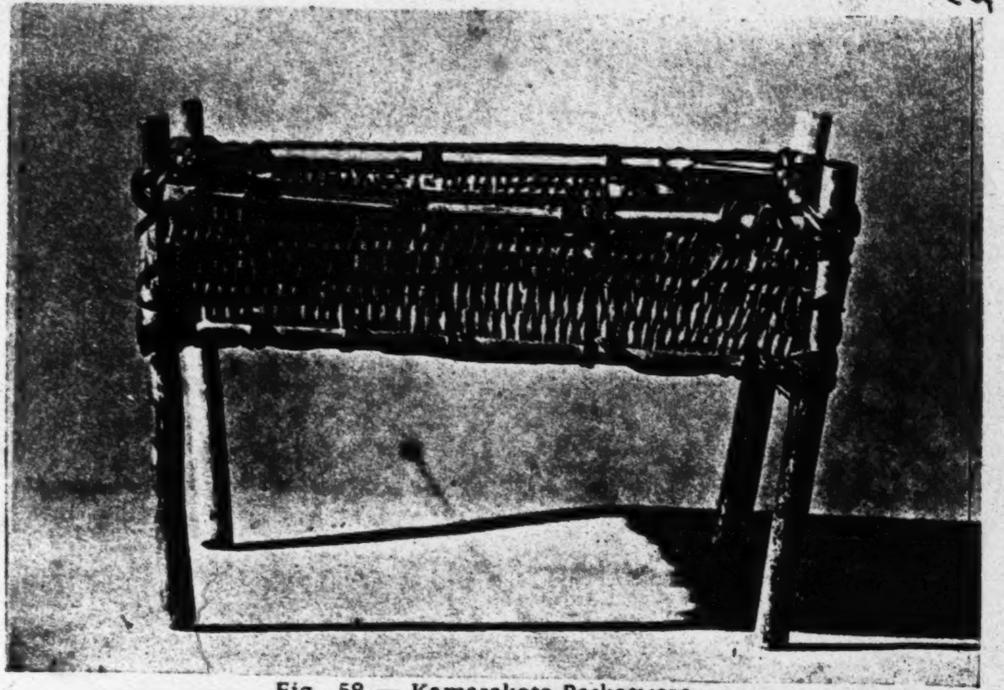

Fig. 58 — Kamarakoto Basketware.

A small matu:tu, same specimen as Fig. 57, side view.

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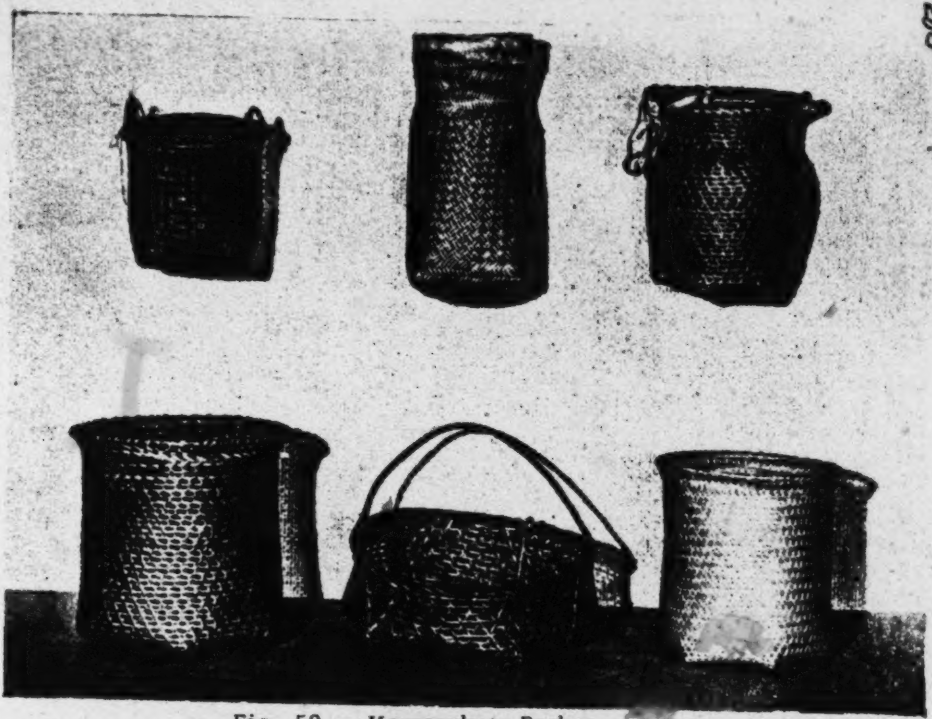

Fig. 59 — Kamarakoto Baskets.
A, wapa. B, soko'. C, vase-shaped waricha. D, [illegible]mon waricha. E, warakapi. F, tightly woven waricha (hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions).

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16 Kamarakoto 190e

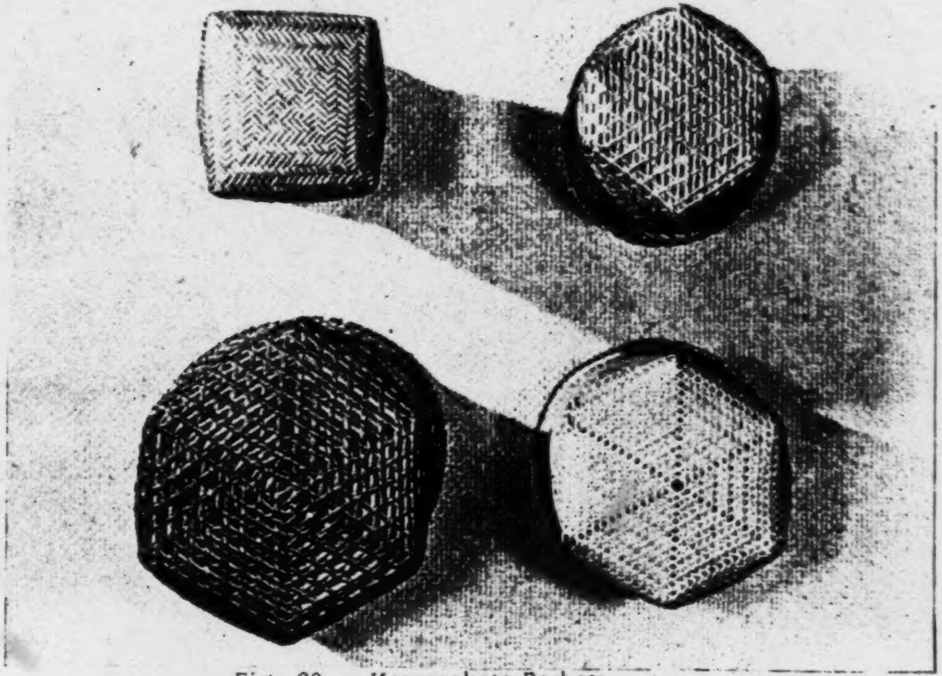

Fig. 60 — Kamarakoto Baskets.

Bases of three of the baskets shown in Fig. 59. A, soko', (Fig. 59 B), typical quadrangular base with one hour-glass. B, waricha (Fig. 59 C), hexagonal base with parallel crossing strands in one direction, extra horizontal strand of sides inserted at corner of base. C, waricha (Fig. 59 D), with commonest type of hexagonal base; crossing strands formed by a single spiral which becomes the extra horizontal strand on sides. D, waricha (Fig. 59 F) with extra strand insertion and base of type shown in B but with parallel crossing strands in all three directions.

*285 them makes their bands produce a concentric square pattern on the fabric as a whole which, however, is very inconspicuous.

The rim re-enforcement is formed by two rails, one on each side, projecting well beyond the corners where they overlap as in a rail fence. At a given edge the basketry strands that are there at right angles to that edge are gathered in groups of two and each two-ply strand passes up inside the rails, circles completely around the top rail, is then passed over itself between the rails and looped back to the outer side, passes around this side of the lower rail, and is then woven obliquely into these same fibers where they depart from the sifting fabric, so as to form an obliquely twilled close-work border all around the bottom of the sieve. This edging technique is essentially constant and is seen on no other basketware.[155] The details of the bottom weave vary slightly.

The Kamarakotos do not, like the Makuchis, make sieves with basket- [171] work rims rising above the rails. In Santa Elena the Franciscan Sisters kindly gave us a casave sieve of Taurepán manufacture which has most of the bottom of closework with a small central quadrangle of complicated lattice (woven in four directions with a twilled two-ply quadrangular base) and Roth illustrates somewhat similar Wapishana (and Makuchi ?) sieves. Certainly these are native work and made with native techniques, but I am doubtful whether they are made for the Indians' own use. They are not the common sifters in these tribes and they are more adopted for display than for use, their sifting area being small and its mesh large.

Some Indians, including some Arekunas, make purses of woven plaited basketry but the Kamarakotos have abandoned these in favor of the somewhat less esthetic but decidedly more practical thread-textile purse of the same form (pakara, a word also applied to the basketwork purses).

The waricha (Figs. 59 C, D, F) is perhaps the commonest Kamarakoto bas- [422] ket. A family may have a dozen or more of somewhat different sizes. These roughly bucket- (or rarely vase-) shaped baskets are used for the storage and transportation of any small objects. They always have hexagonal bases and side, as well as bottom, is of hexagonal lattice with at least one extra strand, horizontal on the sides. Roth distinguishes varieties with the horizontal side strands spiral (one or two continuous strands) and those in which they are circular (each a separate strand), but the Kamarakotos and their closer allies make only the former variety. Two varieties, not given separate names, can be distinguished, however, by the way in which the horizontal strands of the sides are worked in.

In both the horizontal strands on the sides consist of two separate strands both working around repeatedly, one above the other, in a spiral until the rim is reached. In both one of these strands is an oblique strand on the side which runs to a corner of the base and along one of its six sides but which then, instead of turning up and becoming an oblique strand on the side in the opposite

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[155] [See footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

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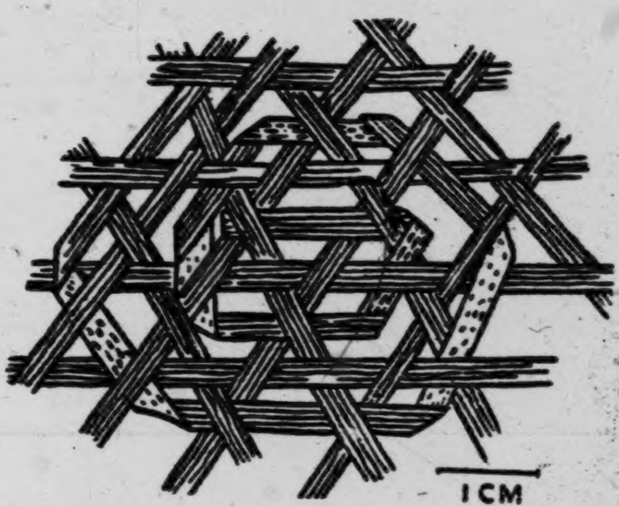

Fig. 61 — Kamarakoto Basketry Technique. Center of the common type of hexagonal basket base, showing plain hexagonal lattice with an extra strand woven in spirally.

direction, continues up the side as horizontal strands (one strand in a spiral). In one type (Figs. 60 C, 61), by far the commonest, the other, the "extra," horizontal strand is such from the start, at the center of the base, being woven into the hexagonal lattice of the base in a flat spiral.

In the other, rare, type (Fig. 60 D) there is no spiral strand in the base but all the strands are woven straight across, producing a pattern which (in each triangular segment) looks merely like a tighter variety of the same weave as on the bases previously described but which as an element in basket construction and in the technique of weaving is very distinct. From a descriptive standpoint it can perhaps most clearly be designated as an open hexagonal lattice across which three sets of extra strands are plaited, in the same directions as the basic three sets and between the latter. The necessary extra spiral strand for the sides is then merely inserted near one corner at the bottom and since it here takes the place of a non-spiral bottom strand that would become an oblique side strand, another strand is also inserted at the same point and run up the side as an oblique strand which, unlike all the other oblique strands but one (the one that becomes the other spiral side strand) is not also a bottom strand.

In both cases, with the exceptions already noted, the base strands are bent at the edge of the base and run up obliquely in the side, so that if any one strand be followed from the rim it runs obliquely down to the edge of the base, *285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[171] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekunas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tsimuiʼ (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on [128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-[114]tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

*285 Diaphragm foundation baskets, which employ a sort of looping technique quite foreign to the Kamarakotos, are unknown and so are the rare (and, to a Kamarakoto, useless) unenclosed foundation baskets, if fish traps be excluded from the group of baskets, strictly speaking. The absence of rectangular based openwork baskets has already been explained, as well as the rarity of checked work and wicker weave which accounts for the absence of rectangular based baskets of these types. In each case the functions of these missing types are performed among the Kamarakotos by others of more complex construction and functionally more satisfactory so that their absence reflects a higher rather than a lower development of basketry skill in this tribe.

Roth's class of conical based baskets is also lacking among the Kamarakotos. This includes only filters formerly used by Arawaks and now obsolete even among them and landing-net baskets that are more widely distributed. These are replaced among the Kamarakotos by more satisfactory nets of knotted thread, already described.

The last and at least from an esthetic point of view the best class of true baskets is that of rectangular based forms of twilled woven plaiting in what Roth has aptly called the hourglass pattern. The Kamarakotos distinguish three types of these, sokoʼ, wapa, and ama:tu.

The sokoʼ (Figs. 59 B, 60 A), which despite similarities is probably, as an exact type, confined to the Arekunas and certainly is typical of them, is a deep closework basket with somewhat flaring mouth used to store and carry relatively small objects which are especially prized or the special protection of which from dirt, etc., is particularly desirable. They are, for instance, commonly used to carry cotton and spindle for spinning or attached to an akaiʼ to carry small treasures while the rougher baggage is on the akaiʼ itself. The square bottom has the two sets of strands parallel to the diagonals, not the sides, of the square by a system that begins with a small hourglass like pattern in the middle (Fig. 60 A) surrounded by a figured twill approximating concentric squares. All the strands are also diagonal on the sides where they form an all-over two-over-three twill identical in weave with the main part of a casave press, but of course much smaller. A band of one-over-three is sometimes interpolated here and in any case the upper part of the basket, flaring out to the mouth, is always in a series of bands made by an all-over one-over-three twill. A loop of fine twine (part of which is woven into the basketwork) is attached at the narrowest part of this section for carrying.

The rim is flexible and not re-enforced but is edged in a peculiar fashion. One set of strands is simply cut off at the rim. The other set is doubled back, reversing its obliquity, and woven back along the outer sides of the cut set for a short distance and then cut off on the outer surface below the rim.

The wapa (Fig. 59 A) (not to be confused with the totally different o:apa) has the base made in the same way as a sokoʼ but usually larger and the sides

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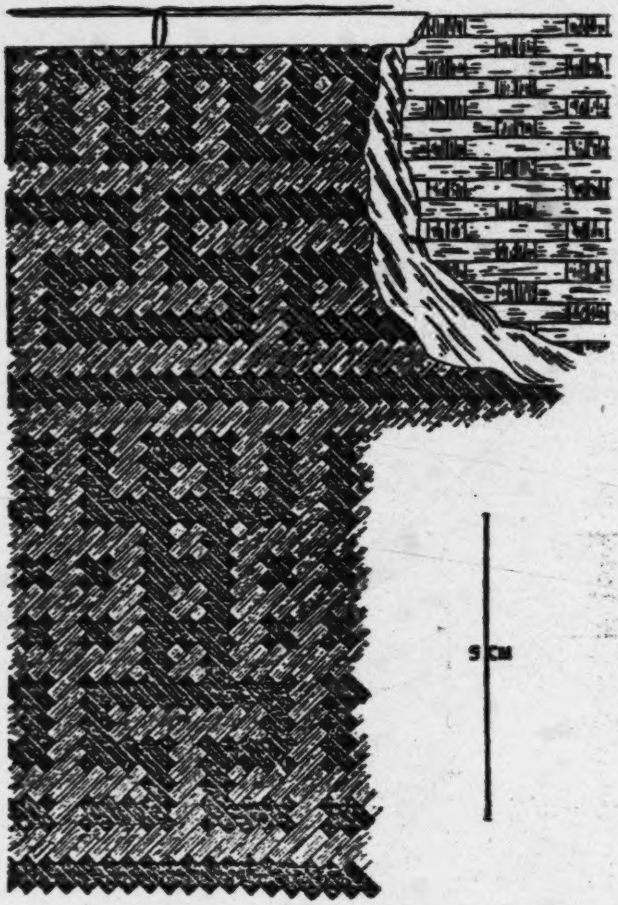

Fig. 63—Kamarakoto Basketry Technique.
Diagram of part of the side of the bottom basket of an ama:tu similar to that seen in Fig. 62. The geometric border and the frieze of conventionalized frogs are typical. At the upper right part of the outer layer is shown as cut away, revealing the middle layer of leaves (lacking in the specimen of Fig. 62) and the inner layer of simpler basketwork (always present).

of pictorial twill, often bichrome. The sides above the square base are cylindrical and not as deep as in the soko?. The rim is re-enforced with outer and inner split reed hoops, and often with a small upper hoop spirally wound with

*285 wadapi as in the best matu:tu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The ama:tu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or of its cover) is made like that of a soko' or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the soko' but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

[171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot
252 properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These
171 are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangõi' (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akai' (Fig. 65 B) if the
482 bottom is of openwork and koatai' (Figs. 65A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiˀ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiˀ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most
[462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they
[184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 As regards the dart-quiver, nōi-yę (Fig. 67), I am in the same position
411 as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that
[128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture.
[237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this
[283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

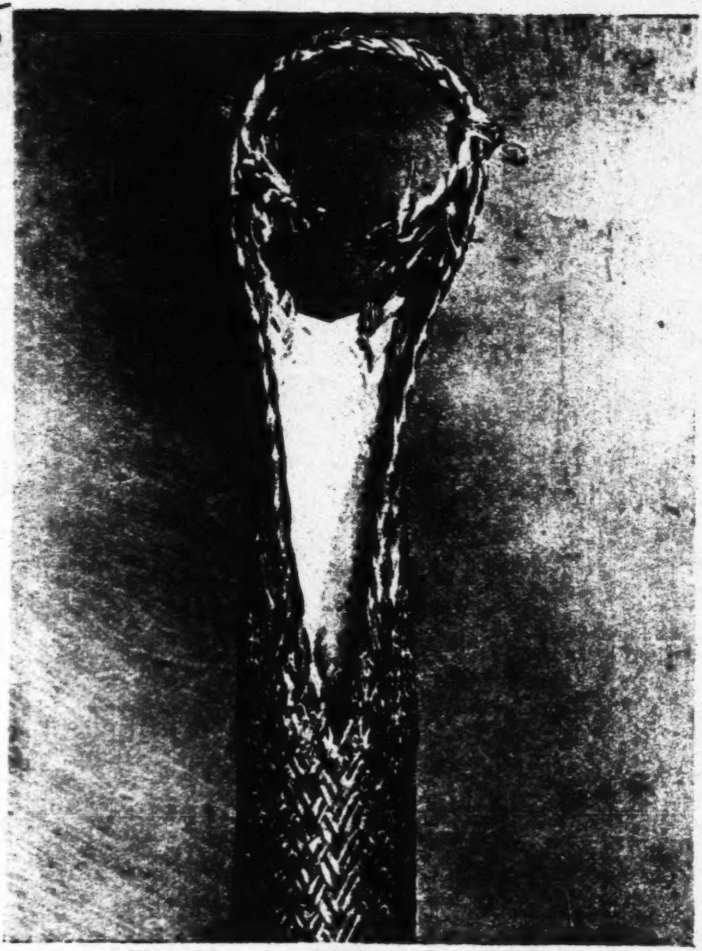

Fig. 64 — Kamarakoto Casave Press.
The upper end of a tangöiʾ, showing typical Arekuna form of neck and mouth, neck of one-over-two twill, without shoulder girdle, and body of two-over-three twill.

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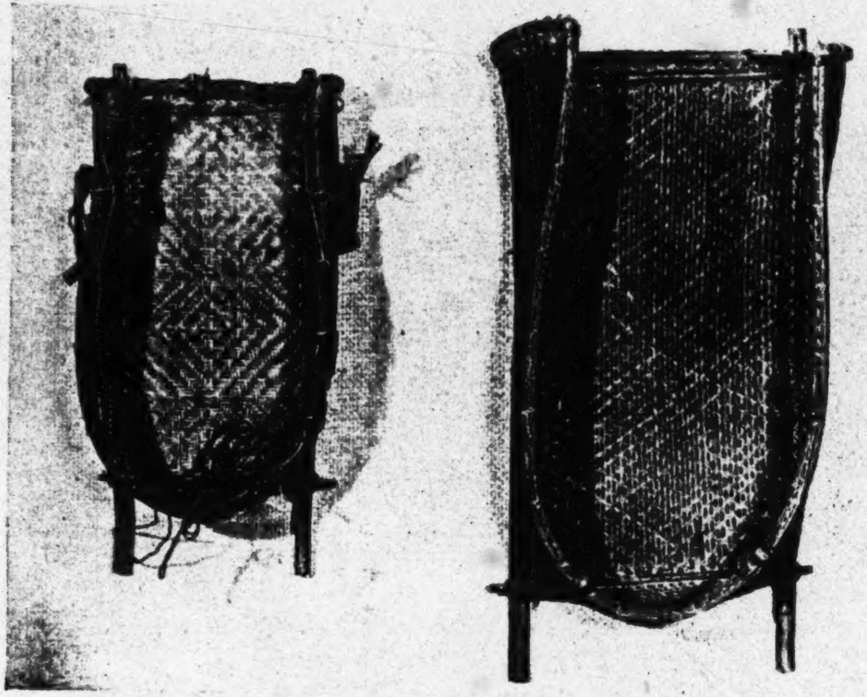

Fig. 65 — Kamarakoto Back-packs.

A, a koatai', with cotton load-lashing and bark carrying strap. B, an akai', without lashing or carrying strap. Both seen from behind (as they are carried in use).

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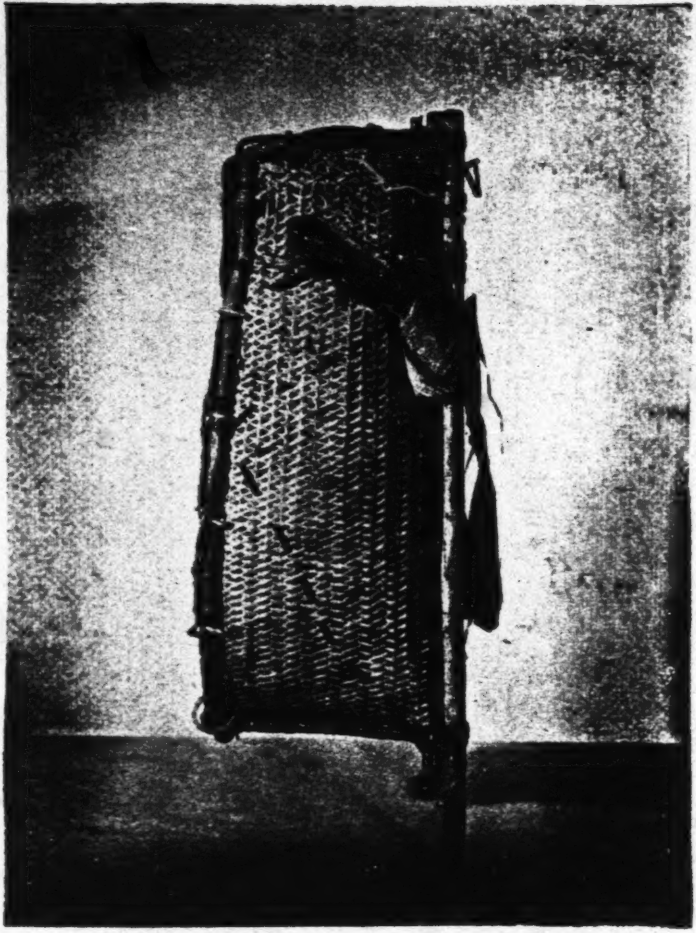

Fig. 66 — Kamarakoto Back-pack.
The koatai', shown in Fig. 65 A, seen from the side.

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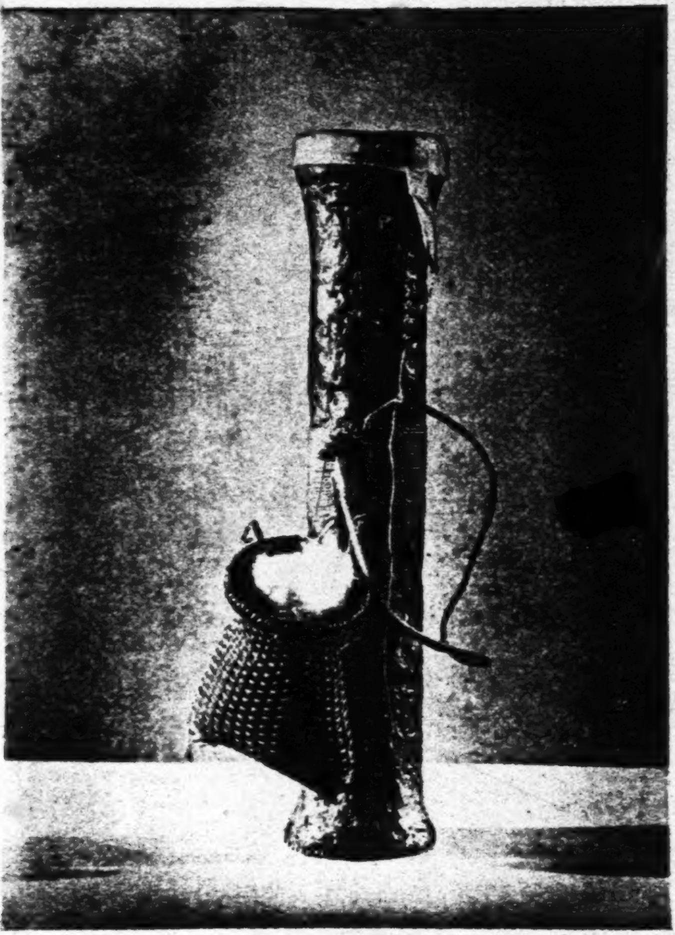

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (mõi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui') full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

*285 411 [283] [237] shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usually tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer, by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 227 The last usual type of basketry is the muroiʼ or fish trap.[159] The general form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 192 197 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wõrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	o:apa	o:əpa
	pangaiʼ	pəngaʼ
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawaʼ	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

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Kamarakoto	Taurepán
(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pəka:ra (basketwork purse).
Baskets.	
waricha	waikarapə, variety chimaran.
warakapi	(Not observed).
(Not observed)	shimuʼ (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
tsimuiʼ	tsarambə
sokoʔ	sokoʼ
wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
ama:tu	dama:tu
Miscellaneous.	
tangõiʼ	təngõiʼ, tenkei[160]
akaiʼ koataiʼ	akaiʼ
mõi-yɛ	mõi-yɛ
muroiʼ	muroiʼ

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531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e. g. in a matu:tu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 531 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, however, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an ama:tu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 531 153 [171] Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 532 [461] This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

531 532 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 534 [128] The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recently (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

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I. Idiophones.		
Percussion.		
Rattles.		
Jingle rattles.	1.	Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
Hollow rattles	2.	Gourd rattles.
Stamping tubes		(Probably occur but were not seen.)
II. Membranophones.		
Two-headed drums	3.	Dance drum.
III. Cordophones (not used).		
IV. Aerophones.		
Free		(Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
Valve.		
Simple trumpets.	4.	End-blown wooden trumpet.
	5.	Side-blown horn trumpet.
Reed instruments (not observed).		
Flutes		
Ductless		
Transverse, with stops	6.	Side-blown flute.

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[162] [see footnote on p. 32b, category 116 - Analyst]

534 Duct flutes
With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind . . . . 4. Wooden trumpet.
5. Horn trumpet.
6. Flute.
7. Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)
III. String (not used)
IV. Percussion . . . . 1. Seed pods.
2. Rattles.
3. Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached
jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in
[535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands
are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed
[824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small
[237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, wide-
spread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a
gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle
passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro-
[171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how wide-
spread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused
from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or par-
ticularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians
[192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an in-
ternational word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into
[171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument
and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American cul-
ture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popu-
larity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to
virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument
may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not
a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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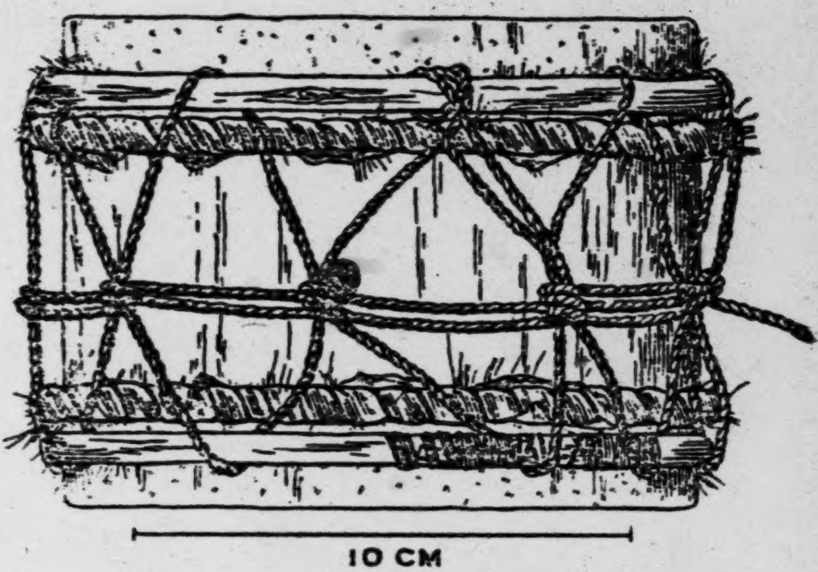

[535] Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American
Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted
and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until
European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable,
that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and be-
cause it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of con-
struction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto
drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal qual-
ity, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the *parichara* dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called *kamai*. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed,
of *Cecropia* (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan
Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying
the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blow-
ing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each *kamai* produces a
single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the
different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relation-
ship or harmony between the different pitches of *kamai* blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately
decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamara-
koto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete
absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture.
There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among
the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamara-
kotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of
curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and
the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity,
probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South
America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the
Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz
says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in
general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

The
534 177 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the
Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepânes (von
[128] Hornbostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau
was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make
one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto
instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[824] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic
name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana),
from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageolet,
[237] is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving
only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well
as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning.
The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from
distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced
between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed
on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop.
This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover
the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike
that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike
any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukũi' (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for
simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering
along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of
melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of
plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes
a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might
almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified
under European influence and others which are native copies of old European
models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

[163] [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534
171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534
177
174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484
[361]
[628]
[432] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484
501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

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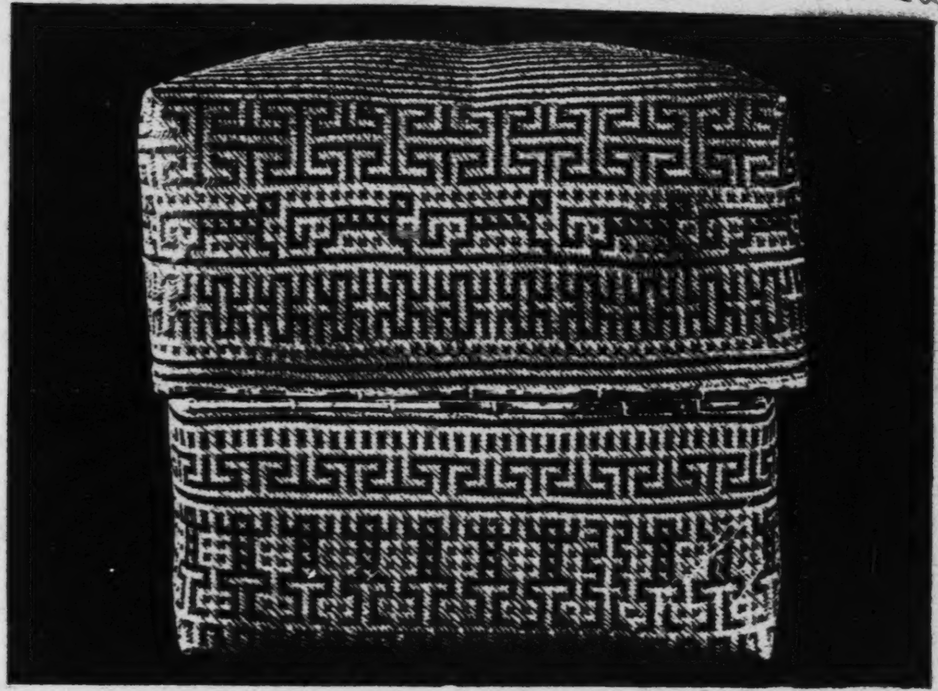

Fig. 62 – A Kamarakoto Basket.

An ama:tu, shown with the cover raised so that the side of the bottom basket is also visible. For details of construction of a different but closely similar ama:tu, see Fig. 63.

484 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes al-
501 though these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as
permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There
are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares,"
that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran
Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of
vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and per-
fectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only
fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single
file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the
trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other with-
out turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over
to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them
deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking
and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and
branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always
possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yę)
490 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction,
so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are
not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried
logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be
used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all
the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but
even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over
small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always
provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is
simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole
is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamarakotos
491 do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-bridge
171 area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying northwestern
South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while
complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole
bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two
in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed
in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support
on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between
plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches
in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three
piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion
downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not
lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the
ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse
piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see
or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg
reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the
canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[482] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up
and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and
seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617).
The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of
woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels,
but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes
are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes
now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of
a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also
serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate
piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general *kan. wa* (or *kanhwa*, i.e. canoe) and
this particular sort of dugout *kuryara*, showing the Carib root whence come the
Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two
words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] *kuryara*. The favorite wood is *waidawau-yɛ́ʔ*, probably a species of *Nectandra*.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks
to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

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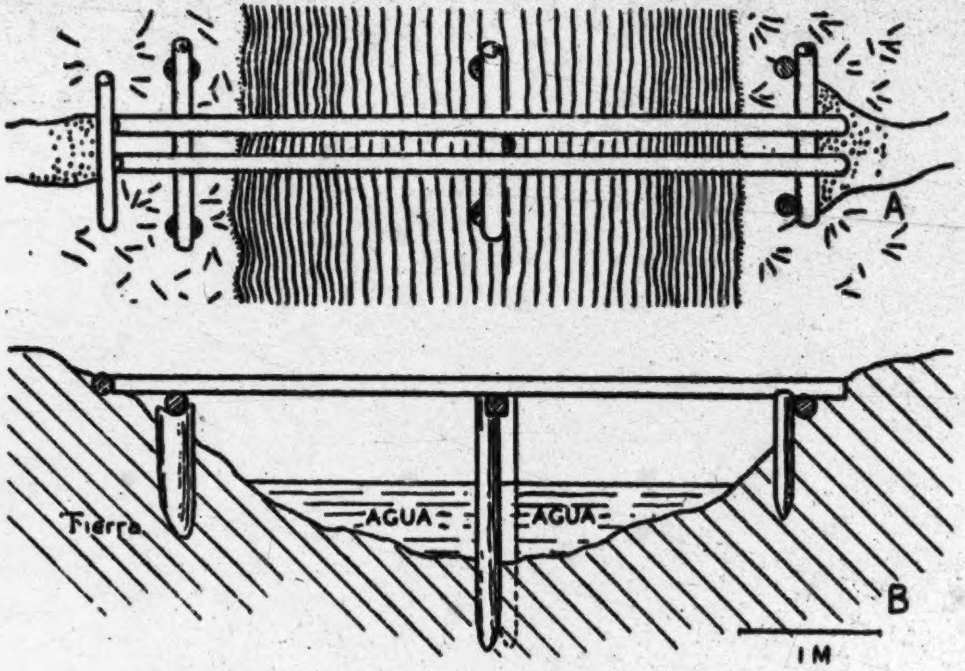
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Fig. 70 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Diagrams of the construction of a bridge similar to that of Fig. 69.
A. plan. B. side view, with earth sectioned.

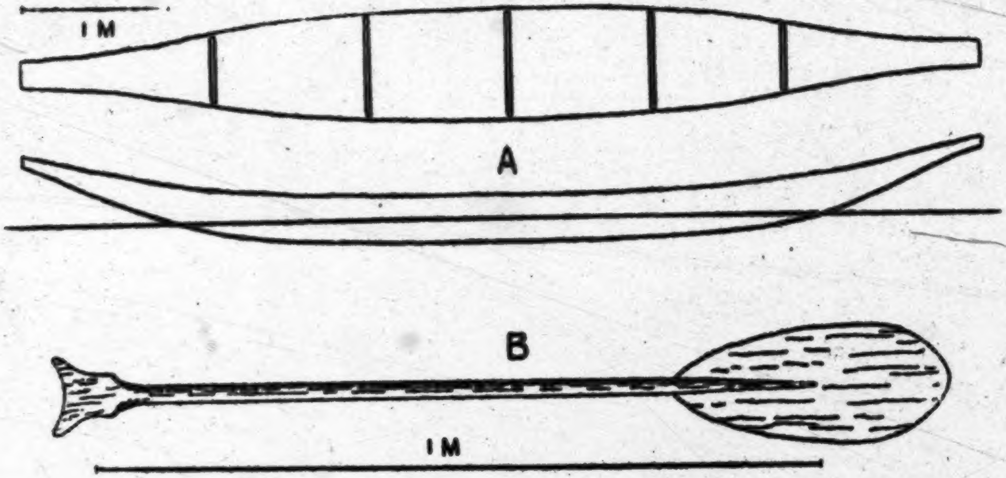

Fig. 71 — Kamarakoto Canoe and Paddle.
A. plan and side view of the dugout used as a ferry on the Aichá at Uruyén (see Fig. 72). In the side view the water line on the unloaded canoe is shown. B. typical Kamarakoto paddle.

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛʔ?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near the distal end. 501 171 Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nordenskiöld. [114] Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of backpack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai , is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]

[text continues on p. 213]

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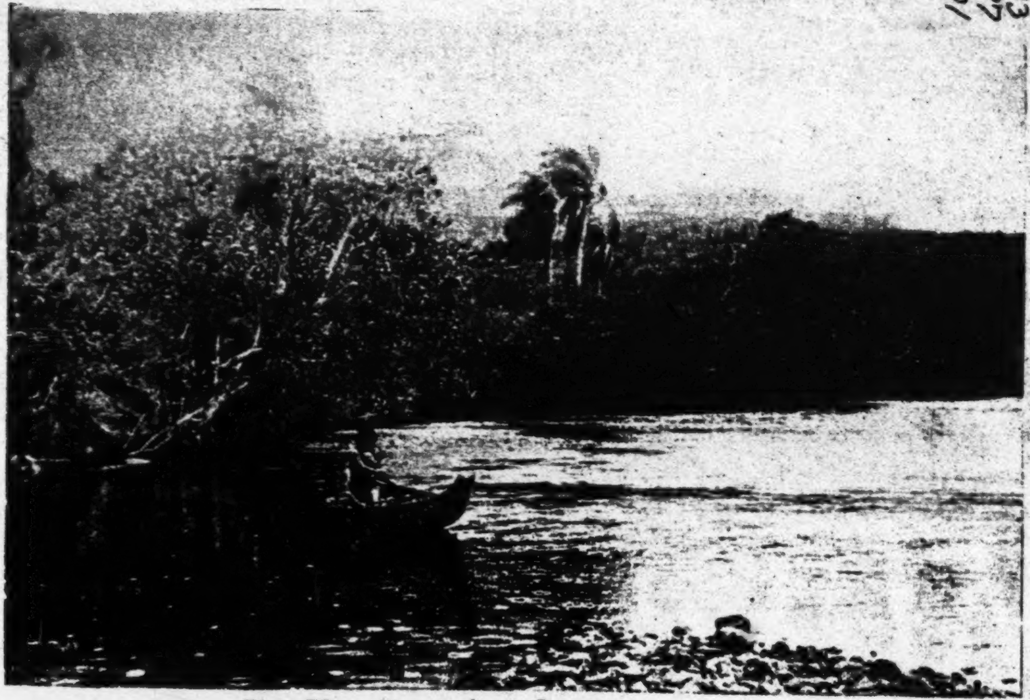

Fig. 72 -- Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uruyén.

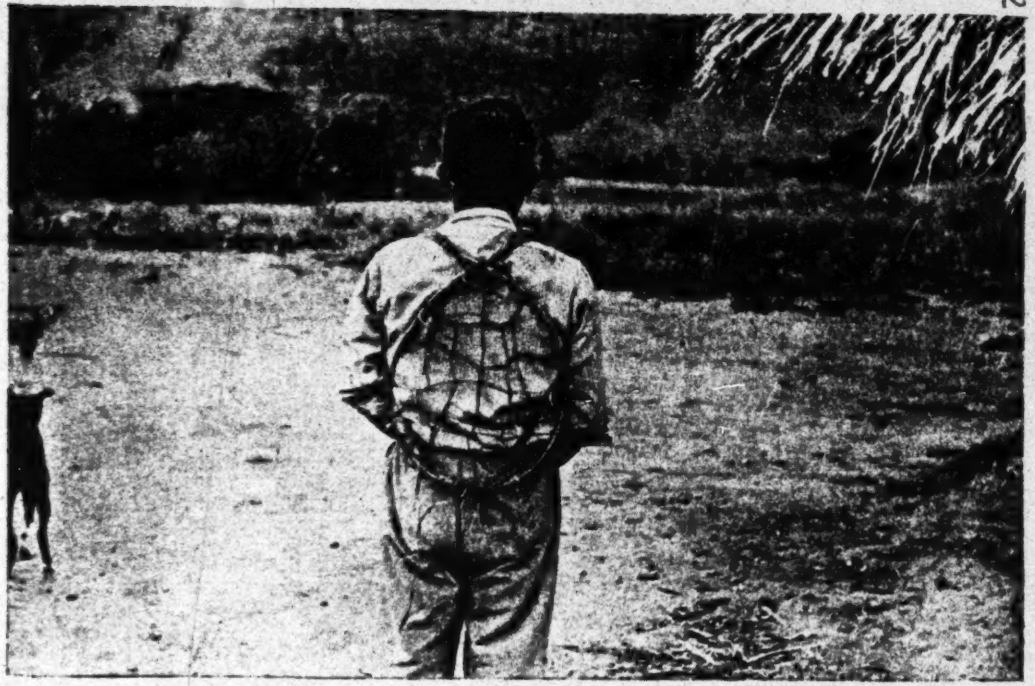

Fig. 73 — Kamarakoto Man's Back-pack.
Man's carrying frame, wayare, as used. The load is lashed to the frame with cords.

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing
balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely
that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

[p.214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 [131] The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar, of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they 148 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend 643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo [178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 171 178 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 621 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such 621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called toʔ-esaʔ, but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its toʔ-esaʔ, and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the toʔ-esaʔ is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no 643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective toʔ-esaʔ. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the toʔ-esaʔ. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a toʔ-esaʔ over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree;
we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if
some toˀ-esaˀ, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the
teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called toˀ-epuruˀ), but their
chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in re-
cent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions
to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the
exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in toˀ-esaˀ, but yakon
is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase).
This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be
constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance,
be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[124] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio
Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed
that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact
of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "nec-
essary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically
makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an
old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which
time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change con-
tinues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the
probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several,
are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-
political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact
that he is ordinarily also a toˀ-esaˀ.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thorough-
ly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates
what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with
others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally
acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were diso-
beyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more
than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

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631 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority [619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

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171 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

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114 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Kamarakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more specific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are [128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other [128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

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601 Comparisons are made chiefly with Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of
114 the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.
[171]

P Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister."
M The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized
601 European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In
171 Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rũiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetá	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadetə	e-na-ru, na-na, na- nau
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	wə-ri-chi
[illegible]ale	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetə, which means an older
P person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are
601 plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

[168] [see footnote on p.327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sib of the same sex	Older	Male	rūiko
		Female	pasi
	Younger		akon

Sib of the opposite sex	Brother of a female	pi(rika)
	Sister of a male	paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

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[595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

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171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

		Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	Father	papai	pa-pa
	Mother	paikõi[169]	ma-ma
General	Father	yun	(y)un
	Mother	san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

[169] [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sex of parent. (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.		Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).		mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi		enji	
Female	Male	(u)rmę	(u)rmę	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon		(not given)	

(u)rmę and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

P [597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tàtamo
Grandmother	noi³	no, go-go

P [888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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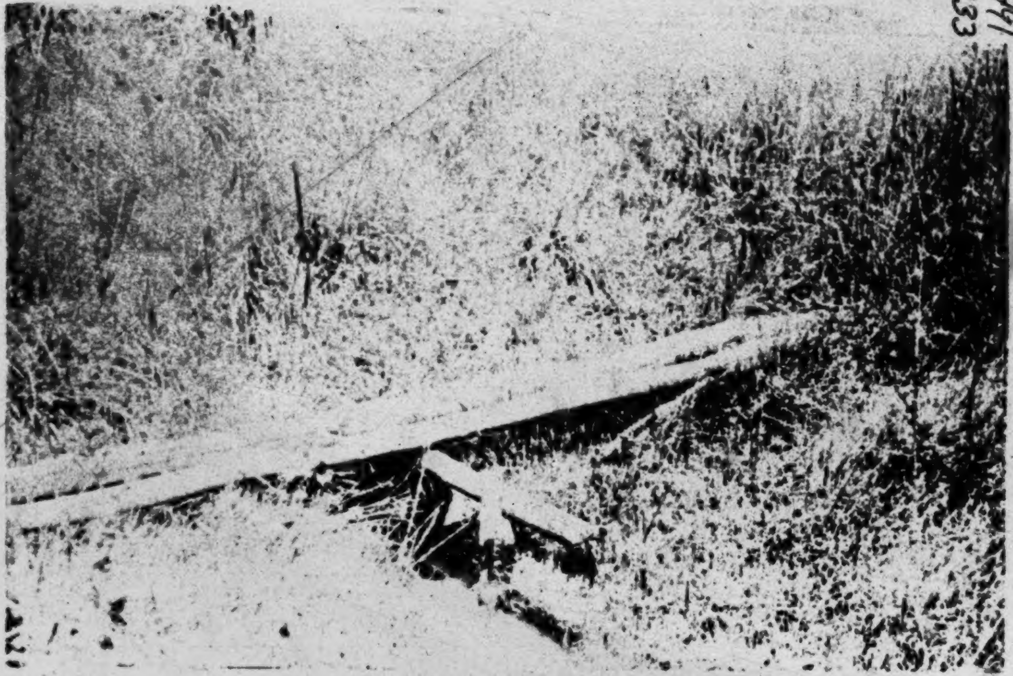

Fig. 69 — Kamarakoto Bridge.

Typical pole-bridge of the more carefully constructed sort, across deep water in a marsh near Uruyén.

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Grandson - pa-waraton, literally "grandchild-male"
Granddaughter - pa-wari, " "grandchild-female"

Aunt, uncle, parents-in-law: Aunts and uncles may be designated descriptively, e.g. papai-yakon, literally "papa-younger brother," i.e. younger brother of father. In this case, however, the concept is of relationship between the brothers, of whom one is specified, and not really the uncle-nephew relationship. In dealing more directly with this latter relationship, special words are used which depend on the sex of all three parties, that is, of the person of reference (the nephew or niece), of the parent through whom the relationship exists, and of the person referred to (uncle or aunt).

Sex of person referred to	Sex of intermediary	Sex of person of reference	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)	
Male	Male	Male	"father" i.e. papai, yun	inton	papai
Male	Male	Female		(not given)	
Male	Female	Male	mui	tori	
Male	Female	Female	awo	awo	
Female	Male	Male	wani	wan	
Female	Male	Female	wari	awobu	
Female	Female	Male	"mother," i.e. paikõi, san	mamai	
Female	Female	Female			

[E.g. mui means "maternal uncle of a male," wari "paternal aunt of a female," etc.]

It is seen that special words are used for mother's brother (maternal uncle) and father's sister (paternal aunt) and that these are different for male and female (nephew and niece), but that for either sex a father's brother is addressed and spoken of as if he were the father, and a mother's sister as if she were the mother. This interesting classification is not merely verbal. In a sense, a paternal uncle is a father and, for instance, if a child's father dies or is away, this uncle takes the place of the father to the child in every respect. (But in Makuchi Williams does give a separate word for man's paternal uncle.)

The relationship between any person and the parents of that person's husband or wife is considered to be of the same degree as that between a person and his or her mother's brothers and father's sisters. Thus:

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		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Father of husband	- woman's maternal uncle -	awo	(Not given)
Mother of husband	- woman's paternal aunt -	wari	(Not given)
Father of wife	- man's maternal uncle -	mui	tori
Mother of wife	- man's paternal aunt -	wani	wanə

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These words are (in Kamarakoto) those generally used in direct address. In speaking of the person to someone else, it is usual to be more specific and special adjectival phrases for parents-in-law are then usually used:

Father of husband - tamõipuyun (for tamupũi - yun)
Mother of husband - yawoiˀ-pə
Father of wife - nopuyun (for nopũi-yun)
Mother of wife - yawoiˀ-pə

— thus yawoiˀ-pə is "mother-in-law" generally and a father-in-law is called "husband's father" or "wife's father" as the case may be.

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Nephew, niece: As with "aunt" and "uncle" the words used for "nephew" and "niece" involve not only the sex of the person referred to but also of the person through whom the relationship exists, i. e. of a parent of the nephew or niece. It would be expected that the sex of the person of reference, i. e. of the aunt or uncle, would also be involved. According to my informants this is not the case. The sex of person of reference is involved in words for "aunt" and "uncle," complimentary to those for "nephew" and "niece," and it is hinted at in Makuchi, which otherwise is rather close to Kamarakoto in these respects.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Male child of man's brother	- "son," i.e.	mumum	Not given.
" " " woman's "	- "son," i.e.	(u)rmɛ (?)	
Female " " man's "	- "daughter," i.e.	yentsi	
" " " woman's "	- "daughter," i.e.	manon (?)	
Male " " man's sister	-	poitoru	Not given, but see below.
" " " woman's "	-	poitoru (?)	
Female " " man's "	-	patsɛ	pase
" " " woman's "	-	patsɛ (?)	amu

Although Williams gives only the words for the daughter of a sister, they show a classification based on the sexes of all three persons involved. A root

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evidently cognate with poitoru occurs in Makuchi (Williams) i-(poi-to-rə')-be-wai, "serve (?)," which Williams compares with pai-to, son-in-law of a male, or any subordinate young man. Whether or not this rather dubious comparison is valid, it is likely that this poi-to-ra' is connected with Kamarakoto poitoru, which seems otherwise not to have been identified in Makuchi or related languages except in Taurepán where Koch-Grünberg gives poitole (= poitore or poitorü) as "son-in-law" or "nephew" without the essential further specification.

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Cousins: My Kamarakoto informants disclaimed knowledge of any special words for cousins. Under certain circumstances cousins would be considered as brothers or sisters and so spoken of. For instance a boy or girl calls his or her paternal uncle "father" and if the child lives with or in close association with this male's family he or she will call the uncle's children, actually cousins, "brother" and "sister," using the words appropriate as to relative age.

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Of the six words given by Williams as meaning "cousin" in Makuchi, four seem to be more or less random examples of this same sort of system, e.g. a boy calls his father's brother's son (presumably younger than himself) mo-yi, which is Makuchi for "younger brother of a male." e-ru, which means "husband's sister" is also defined as a female's mother's brother's daughter. The only special word for "cousin," defined as a male's father's brother's son (for which, however, two other words are also given), given by Williams in Makuchi is -a-mi-bə. This word, curiously, is practically identical with that for fifth ("little") toe or finger. It seems very doubtful whether Makuchi, any more than Kamarakoto, really has a special nomenclature for the cousin relationship.

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If the sexes of all four persons concerned were considered, a complete system would involve sixteen classes, and if relative ages within each of the two generations were considered, sixty-four terms would be necessary. Needless to say, no Carib language really carries this to its logical extreme.

Husband and wife: No concept of relative age is here involved and the relationship automatically specifies the sex of both when one is mentioned, so the words have the same general limits as in European languages.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Husband	-	tammpüi	ni-yo, -nyo
Wife	-	nopüi	no-bu, -pə-san

Except, possibly, for adjectival differentiation when necessary, no distinction is made between the words applied to the various different wives of one man.

P 601 Other relatives by marriage: In speaking of a son- or daughter-in-law, the sex of the person of reference (father- or mother-in-law) is not considered:

Son-in-law	without a child	- payumu
	with a child	- payum
Daughter-in-law		- patsę

payum means the actual and payumu apparently means the potential father of one's grandchild, pa "grandchild" + yum "father."

patsę is the same word as for the daughter of one's sister, an equivalence analogous to using the same word for mother-in-law as for paternal aunt.

M 601 P 171 In Makuchi, Williams gives pa-se (cognate with patsę) for daughter-in-law, but specifies that it is used by males, and he gives pai-to (related to Makuchi (pai-to-rə, "servant," and not to Kamarakoto payum) for man's son-in-law. He does not give words used by females for a son- or daughter-in-law, although he specifies that the words given are used by males (only ?).

P 601 In speaking of brothers- and sisters-in-law the sexes both of the person of reference and of the person referred to are involved.

Husband's brother	-	pipi
Husband's sister	-	yerui'
Wife's brother	-	(y)etsę
Wife's sister	-	parətsi

M [601] P [171] In Makuchi, Williams does not give these words, but he does note that pi, Makuchi word for younger brother of a female, sometimes means husband's brother. The Kamarakotos distinguish the words for woman's brother, pi, pirika, from that for husband's brother, pipi.

On the other hand, the Kamarakoto word for wife's sister, recorded as parətsi, seems to be cognate with that for a man's younger sister, paruchi, and I am not sure that they are not simply pronunciations of the same word by different persons or in different contexts, but I think not.

A man calls any woman whom he knows well but to whom he is not particularly related parətsi, i.e. "sister-in-law." A woman similarly calls male friends pipi, "brother-in-law." There is no analogous word for a man's male or a woman's female friends. yetsę and yerui' were specifically stated not to be used in this way, and a man cannot use the word pipi or a woman the word parətsi without ridicule.

Marriage

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178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right
to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no
doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not,
in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will
and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or
normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive
peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is
doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and
sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no
means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement
of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds)
and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members
of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there
was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is,
however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one
case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[171] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear
commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	------------

462 In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.	In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.
-----------	All food preparation.
Manufacture of twisted thread, (curagua, moriche, etc.)	Manufacture of spun thread (cotton).
Manufacture of sandals.	Manufacture of all cotton textiles, baby slings, pakara, hammocks, etc., also all sewing of Europeanized garments.
Manufacture (and use) of all weapons, fish nets, etc.	-----------
All basketwork.	All beadwork.
Manufacture and use of all musical instruments (except simple jingle-rattle ornaments).	-----------
Such woodwork as is done (benches, canoes, etc.).	Manufacture of pottery.
[854] Some help with care of children.	Almost all of the care of children (which is slight except for babies carried by the women in a sling).
----------	Incidental fetching and carrying, as of firewood and water.
Helping with the heavy carrying, as on journeys.	Much, often the lion's share, of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

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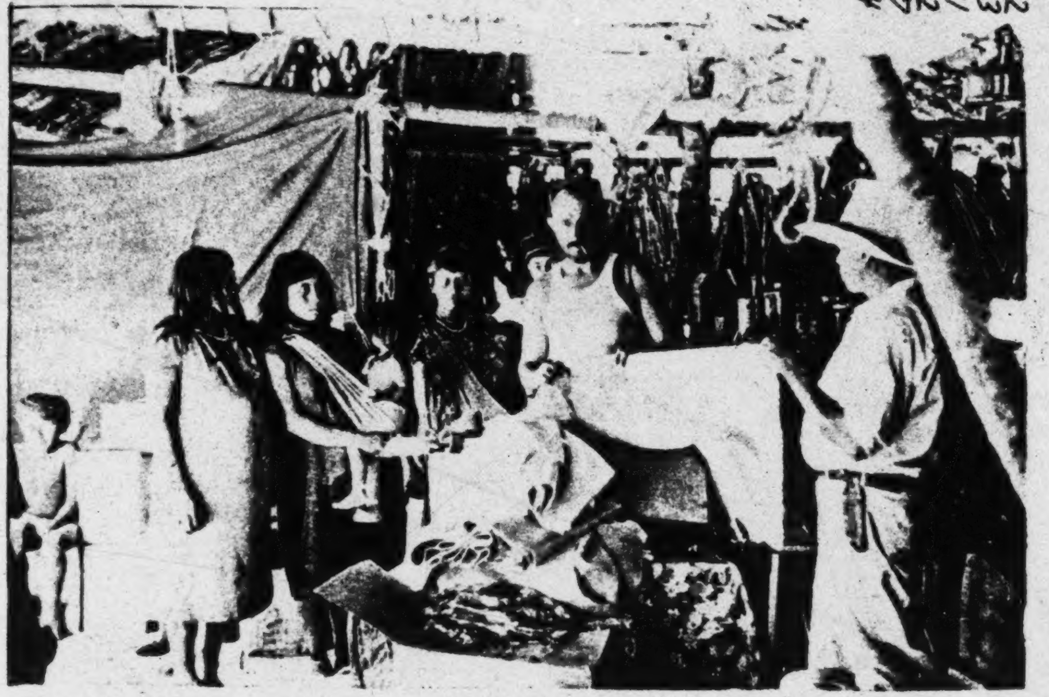

Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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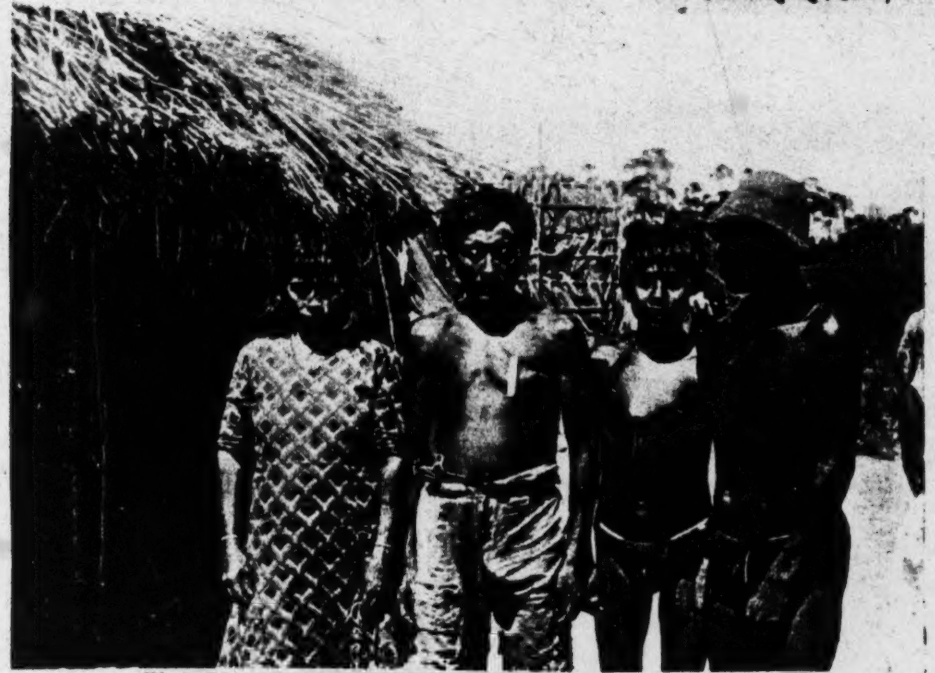

Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-esa'.

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to?-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of
course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near
a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as
far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a
fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household
before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly
unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[721] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is
suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems,
on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling,
farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present
no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization
scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal
even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than
specifically to the toʔ-esaʔ as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman
of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another
group may be by the maker or by the toʔ-esaʔ as representing the household,
but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis
or by the toʔ-esaʔ for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a
basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold
except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to
her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects
of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his
household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to
help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the
man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles
of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into
employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than
an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682]
[685] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173
692 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
643 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
[627] truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty
of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants,
and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity
presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical
injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done
if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural
and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered under direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[696]
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858
861 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misdemeanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung
[171] system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for [436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare o:apa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In [177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Until [177] [291] now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

[171] [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 — Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them,
but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their
6 value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

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[172] [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. 771 The Carib religion 171 generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. [785] He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation [276] occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 116 - Analyst]

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first
776 piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described
[787] for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be
corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now
considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be
[755] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed
to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as
[757] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and
infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers
[754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are
usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

[173] [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepânes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepân told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still
others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent
a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality
or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially
indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion,
which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific
aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general any-
thing that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal
and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear
of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and
remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless
exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in
averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is
that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache
makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thorough-
ly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants
have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with
the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi', being higher and carved
into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves
and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is
surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them
but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the
kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to
the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply
is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days.
If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well
cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

[174] [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

754 824 361 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

352 532 756

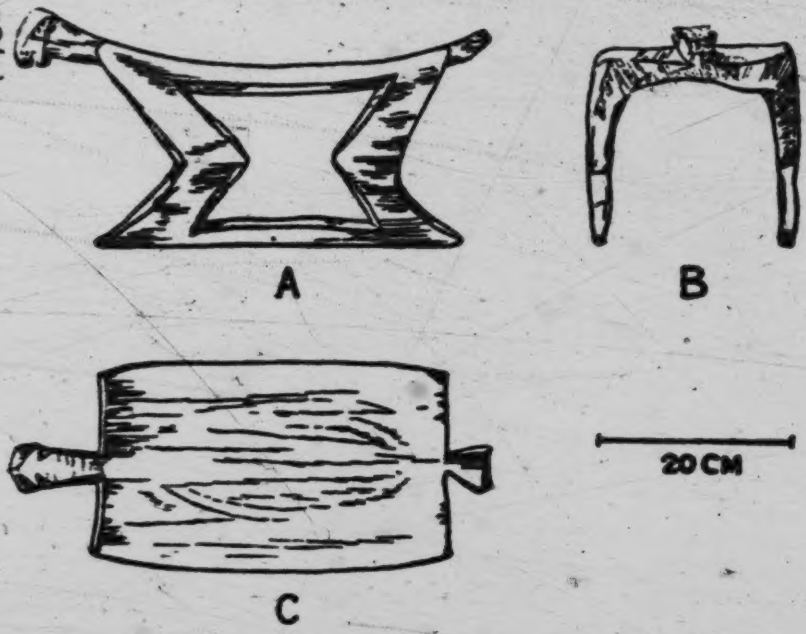

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 797 [14] The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

754 [797] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepánes. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically ɛrɛmba. The most common is the okõyima-ɛrɛmba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

751 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent tɔˀ-esaˀ) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [289] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛrɛmba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [289] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

[175] [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not
771 significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered
as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have
[764] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one
in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were
[531] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches.
There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of México, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so
[128] than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none
[124] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their
[178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A toʔ-esaʔ (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave.
[768] No one but the toʔ-esaʔ is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave.
[769] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a toʔ-esaʔ were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets.
[178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obliga-
[768] tory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765
178 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

[176] [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
177 the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
82 seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked -- some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kaliñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page.[1]

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

[1] [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until
the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes
means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and partici-
pate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain
relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large
quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vom-
it, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped
somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but
seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that
would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" peo-
ple, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.

[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.

[171] The most common dance is the *parichara*, which is danced with variation
all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets
(*kamai*) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a
special costume, the *parichara-pon*, consisting of a diadem, *aroʼ*, and a skirt,
imaripadai, of *maripada* palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique,
who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the *aroʼ* but most
of the males wore the *imaripadai*. Women also participate and wear no fixed
costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair
from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back.
Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany
him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart
as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

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[177] [see footnote on p.329, category 116 - Analyst]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the
dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come. I have come. I have come. I have come.
(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call...........etc.
(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call...........etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.
(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.
(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional
interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukũiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots. [302] For the tukũiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [273] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

[180] [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 249]

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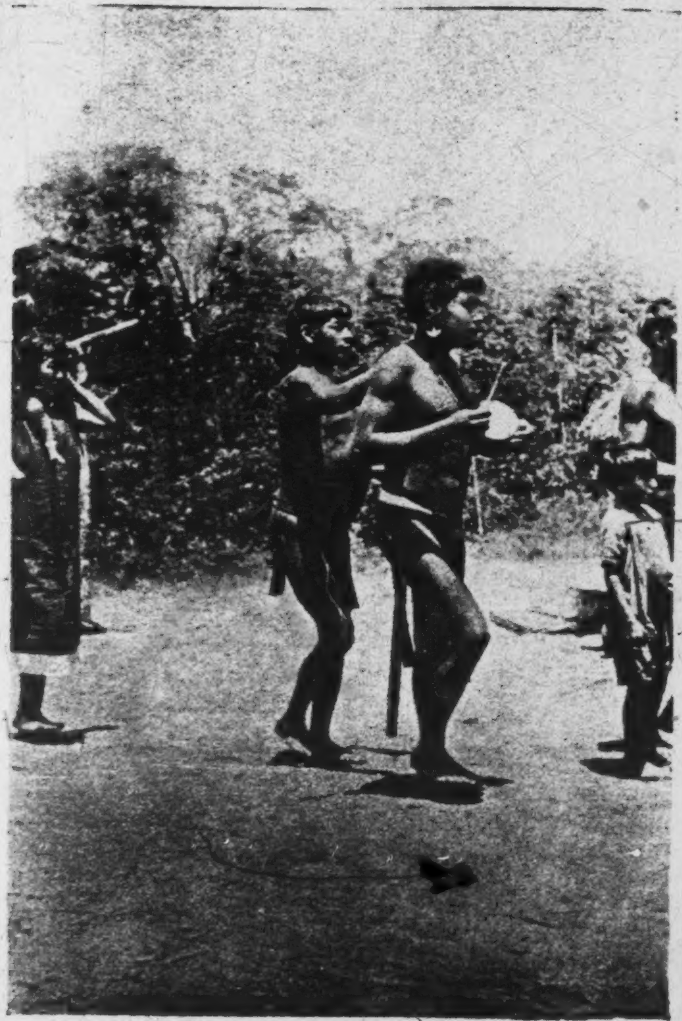

Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.[1]

[1] [See P. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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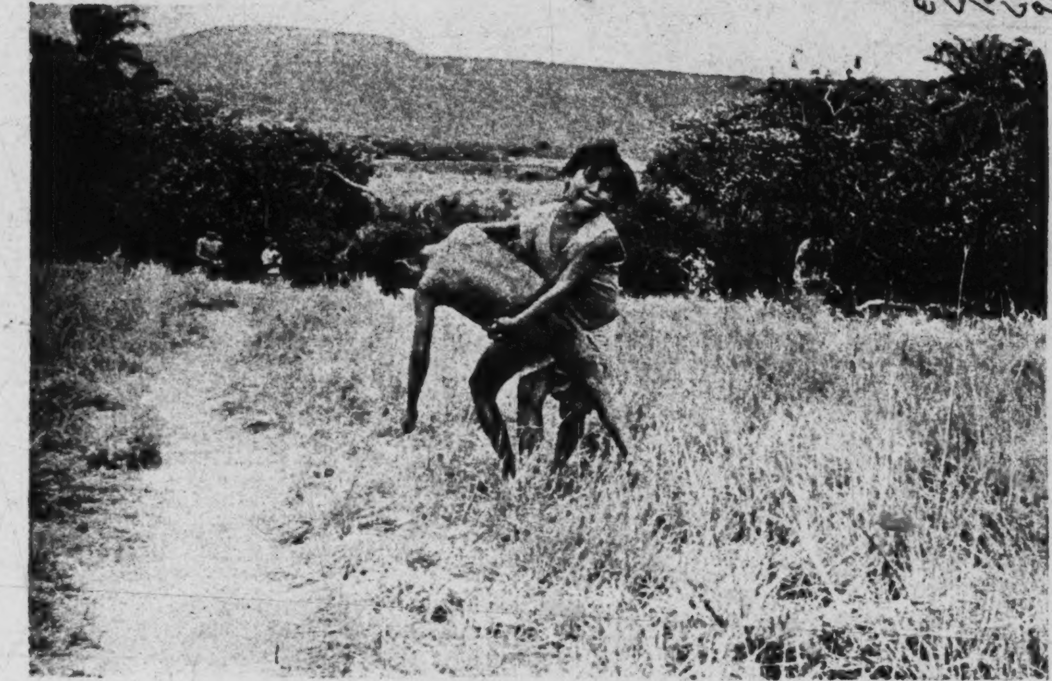

Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

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868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children
"play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is com-
monly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might
(Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of
weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures in-
cludes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[178] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some ex-
tent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowl-
edge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted
the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example
and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology
and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous
other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and
who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was
translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by
him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in
Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text
itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is in-
variable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the
present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call
Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst] was a grown man, twenty years old, he did not know anything. He did not know as much as his brothers-in-law. He did not know how to hunt or fish or weave, and was so ignorant that he was very poor. It was not until he was forty that he knew everything. He used to go fishing and hunting without taking anything with him, no bow, no arrows, no fish poison, no nets.

One day when he was out fishing, when he was about thirty years old, as usual he was not catching anything because he did not know how, and he did not have anything to catch fish with. A man came out of the water of the river and said to Maichak,

"What is wrong, Maichak? Why do you fish and not get anything?"

"I am very sad," said Maichak. "I cannot catch any fish because I am so ignorant."

"All right," said the man from the water. "I will give you a taparita,[185] but do not show it to anyone, because if you do you will lose it."

"What shall I do with it?" asked Maichak.

"Put water from the river in it. Then the river will become empty and you will be able to pick up all the fish. But be very careful only to fill it half full, because if you fill it all the way, the water will overflow and will flood the whole country."

So Maichak did as the river man told him, and he caught many fish. All the men and women, his mother-in-law, his father-in-law, and his brothers-in-law said to each other,

"Where does this stupid man get all these fish?"

Maichak always used to take his son fishing with him. He taught his son how to use the taparita, and warned him never to tell anybody about it. So several years passed.

Everybody wanted to know how Maichak got so many fish. One day the family decided to try to find out. So they invited him to the house and they gave him kachiri and paiba to drink and made him drunk, and then they asked him how he caught so many fish. But even when he was drunk, Maichak would not say anything.

One day Maichak's brother-in-law took his nephew, Maichak's son, out into the forest and asked him how his father caught fish.

"My father has a taparita," said the boy to his uncle, "but it is hidden."

The uncle said, "Well, let us get it, because we need fish to eat at home."

So Maichak's son showed the uncle where it was hidden and he explained to his uncle how to use it, and told him to be careful only to fill it halfway. They filled it halfway. The river became dry, and they got many fish and took them home to eat. When Maichak saw them come home with all these fish, he asked how they got them, and his son told him that they had gotten them with Maichak's taparita.

[185] [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 — Analyst]

539 One day the younger brother of that brother-in-law went out with Maichak's son to fish with the taparita. He said,

"Let us fill the taparita all the way. Then we will get more fish."

"No," said the nephew, "my father told me never to fill it more than halfway."

But his uncle filled it all the way up. The water overflowed and flooded the whole country, and the uncle dropped the taparita which was washed away in the flood and lost.

Maichak was very sad. For months he looked and looked for his taparita, but he never found it again. He could not catch any fish now that he did not have his taparita. He used to go hunting and fishing, but he never got anything.

One day Maichak was hunting in the woods. He came across an armadillo[186] that talked like a man. The armadillo had a rattle[187] in one hand and he was singing a song. This is the song:

Taka:naimo poi:nimo maraka i sakauma-nõi,
"Beast's peccary's rattle I sound
("I sound, I sound, I sound the wild peccary's rattle.")
sakauma-nõi, sakauma-nõi.
I sound I sound."

The armadillo sang the song three times, and then he reached up with his hand and rattled the rattle three times, and he jumped back into his hole. Immediately a lot of peccaries[188] came running up, but Maichak did not have anything to kill them with, so he went home without anything.

Maichak decided that he would have to get the rattle, so that he could catch peccaries, so he went out into the forest to get it. The armadillo stuck his head out of his hole and sang his song while Maichak waited with an arrow. When the armadillo had sung the song he stuck his hand out of the hole, holding the rattle in order to shake it. Maichak grabbed the rattle out of his hand. When Maichak grabbed the rattle, it rattled, but no peccaries came. The armadillo came out to see who had taken his rattle.

"Why did you take my rattle?" said the armadillo.

"I took it because I wanted it," replied Maichak. "I want to catch peccaries with it."

"All right," said the armadillo, "you have my rattle, but I am going to give you some advice. You had a taparita once but you lost it, so now I advise you about this rattle. If you are on the ground or in a tree, and you sound the rattle more than three times, the peccaries will come and take it."

So Maichak went home.

One day Maichak went out to hunt. He built himself a platform and he used to keep his rattle on this platform. This day he climbed up on the platform and he sang the peccary song three times. (Here song is sung as before.) Then he rattled the rattle three times. The peccaries came and he killed four

[186], [187] [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
[188] [see footnote on p. 330, category 116 - Analyst]

or five or six with his arrow. He hid his rattle and went home with the meat. His brother-in-law asked him where he got so many peccaries.

"Oh," said Maichak, "I got them far, far away."

His brother-in-law did not believe that Maichak had been hunting far, far away.

About this time Maichak's son died.[189]

One day, Maichak went hunting and his brothers-in-law followed him to see where he got all the peccaries. Maichak climbed up on his platform and the brothers-in-law listened to him singing and rattling and then went away. Maichak got about five peccaries near his home.

Maichak's brother-in-law went out in the forest and got the rattle and sang the song. Then he sounded the rattle four or five times. A lot of peccaries came, crowds and crowds of peccaries, and they took the rattle away from the brother-in-law. When Maichak went to look for his rattle it was gone. He had lost it just the way he lost the taparita.

Days and days passed.

Maichak did not know how to make casave presses[190] and sieves[191] but his brothers-in-law did. One day his brothers-in-law asked him to come with them to a place two days away. When they got there, they said,

"Who will stay here, and make a press and other things so that we can have casave?"

"I will," said Maichak, although he did not know how to make a press and other things to make casave.

"All right," said his brothers-in-law, "but do it just as fast as you can. We are going out hunting, and this afternoon we will come back with peccaries, and the women must have some casave ready for us when we get here."[192]

The brothers-in-law went out to hunt. Maichak went to get the fibers[193] to make the press and other things. He went away after breakfast and came back about noon. He got the fibers all ready, but he did not know how to make a press. So of course he could not do anything. The women had the grated yuca[194] all ready and were waiting to press it and make casave bread. The brothers-in-law came with peccary meat.

"Where is Maichak?" they asked the women.

"He is out making a press," said the women.

They sent a boy to call Maichak. They were very hungry.

"Did you make a press?" they asked Maichak.

"No, I do not know how," said Maichak.

"Well, then, why did you try?" they asked him. And they got very angry and abused Maichak.

The brothers-in-law made a press in about two hours.

"All right," they said. "Now we will teach you how to behave."

189-194 [see footnotes on p. 330, category 11b — Analyst]

539 So they tied Maichak's hands together and his feet together, and they hung him up alongside the press, and they impaled him on a sharp stick and killed him. But Maichak got up again from death and was alive again.

The brothers-in-law and Maichak started home with the peccaries. Maichak said for them to go ahead and he would follow, and they said all right. Maichak went with his wife to hunt for peccaries, and the brothers-in-law went to Maichak's house. Maichak got some peccaries. Then he said to his wife,

"Your family was abusive to me, and I am going to take my revenge on you."

He killed his wife, and he salted her body, and put it on the platform where he had his salted peccaries. Then he made an enormous carrying frame.[195] He put the salted wife and the salted peccaries in the carrying frame and took them to the house of the parents of his wife. His mother-in-law gave him some casave and some peppers.[196] She gave him three or four of these peppers. Then she asked him,

"Do you want to eat now?"

Maichak said, "No, first I will go and bathe."

Maichak went to bathe, and his mother-in-law took the carrying frame and took out the meat and saw that some of the meat was her daughter. She shrieked and cried and the brothers-in-law ran after Maichak to kill him. Maichak ran away into the forest.

Maichak broke off a piece of the casave and cut one of the peppers in two and put them in the fork of a tree, saying to them,

"Let me know if my brothers-in-law come this way."

Farther along, he took another piece of casave and cut another pepper and did the same thing with them. When he had gone about half a league into the forest and had come to a river, he heard loud cries from the casave, which was really being taken away by a bird.

"Men are coming," said Maichak.

He got into a canoe on the river but he did not know how to paddle. As he was being carried down the river, a bird sang to him, saying to him,

"Dip in the paddle, dip in the paddle."

Another bird[197] warned him that his brothers-in-law were still following him. He paddled down the river for two days, until he came to a big tributary. He paddled up the tributary for ten days, until he came to its headwaters. He had with him yuca and bananas and all kinds of plants, done up in a small package, in a carrying frame. He stopped and built himself a house, and planted a garden and lived there all by himself.

Piaimá, an animal-man who lives in the mountains and in the forests, and who can be seen only by a piache, not by common Indians, came to Maichak and taught him how to make presses and all kinds of weaving. Thus Maichak learned to weave and to do all kinds of man's work, and he lived happily.

195-197 [see footnotes on p. 330, category 116 - Analyst]

539 While he was making his conuco, he lived on wild fruit. Later he had casave to eat. He got tired of nothing but casave so he went out hunting and killed a deer. As he was eating venison on another day, he thought about how lonely he was. He said,

"I am going to get the king[198] of the buzzards to keep house for me."

Maichak went out and killed a tapir. Then Maichak smeared rancid grease all over himself and when the tapir was putrid, he lay down alongside it, and pretended to be dead.

The buzzards came to eat the tapir and the man, and Maichak grabbed the king of the buzzards[199] and went home with him. He used to bring the buzzard meat and they lived together for some days. Maichak would go out to hunt about an hour after sunrise and when he came back at sunset he would find casave and kachiri and other things to eat and drink all made, but only the buzzard would be there. The truth was that during the day the buzzard became a human and made all of these things, and then at night turned back into a buzzard.

Maichak asked, "Who made the casave and the kachiri?"

One day, Maichak said that he was going out to hunt and that he would not be back until after dark, but he sneaked back to the house about noon, and there he saw a beautiful woman, making casave and kachiri and other things. Maichak asked,

"Where did you come from?"

The woman replied, "I am the queen[200] of the buzzards and I live here with you."

They lived there together for a long time, and the buzzard queen remained a woman. One day, the buzzard queen said, "If you would like to see my father, we will go to my house."

She took Maichak to see her father. When they arrived outside the house of the king buzzard, whose name was Atitó,[201] she said to Maichak,

"You stay here and I will go ask if papa will receive you."

Whenever any visitors came to see the king buzzard, he used to kill them and eat them. The queen buzzard said to him,

"I have brought you a son-in-law whose name is Maichak."[202]

The king buzzard said, "All right, daughter, let us see what sort of character he has."

The queen buzzard went and got Maichak and came back in the house and presented him to her father. The king buzzard said,

"All right, if Maichak is a good worker, he can live here. But if he is not, I am going to eat him."

To test Maichak, the king sent him out to drain a big lake. It was an enormous lake, the biggest in the whole world, and Maichak had to drain it in one day to get fish for the king to eat. He had to do this all in one afternoon or die.

198-202 [see footnotes on pp. 330-331, category 116 - Analyst]

539 Maichak was sitting pensively when a dragonfly came flying up and said, "Why are you so sad, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I am sad because I have to drain this enormous lake in one day, or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The dragonfly said, "All right, then, I will help you."

Multitudes and multitudes of dragonflies came to help drain the lake. Then a bird[203] came flying up and asked Maichak, "What is wrong?"

Maichak said, "I have to drain this enormous lake in one day or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The bird said, "I will sing to let you know when the queen is coming, so that she will not see that the dragonflies are doing your work."

The bird went and mounted guard a little distance away. Every half hour[204] the queen came to see the work, but the bird always warned Maichak. The dragonflies and Maichak drained the whole lake and finished it about the middle of the afternoon. The queen came and found that the work was all done, and they got great quantities of fish for the king.

Next day the king said, "Very well, daughter, he seems to be a good worker. But we shall see. We will give him a three day test. If he passes this test, you can marry him, and if he does not, we will eat him. He must build me a house. Here is an enormous stone, and he must build me a house right here."

The queen said to Maichak, "Tomorrow in one day you must make a house on that stone."

Maichak went to see the place. There was nothing but a big stone. There was no dirt or anything. Maichak was very sad.

Remember that at this time, it was years since he had left his brothers-in-law, his mother, his father and the rest. They all thought he was dead.[205]

Maichak said, "I cannot build a house on this rock. Anywhere else would be all right but not here."[206]

But shortly after sunrise he went to cut wood. He got together all kinds of animals and birds. They all worked together and they gathered all the materials for a house, but they could not make any holes in the rock to set up the posts.

Then a worm appeared and said to Maichak, "You have to build this house in one day. How are you going to do it?"

Maichak said, "I do not know because I cannot make holes in this rock."

The worm said, "Very well, Maichak, I will burrow into the rock and you can set up the four posts in the holes that I make."[207]

They did so. So Maichak finished the house and the animals thatched the roof. Everybody went to see the house. The king asked, "Is it done?" and the queen told him that it was all done.

203-207 [see footnotes on p.331, category IIb - Analyst]

The king said, "All right, now tomorrow, Maichak must make me a piache's bench.[208] It must be made out of stone. It must be enormous. It must be able to walk by itself, and it must look like me."

Nobody but the queen knew what the king looked like. He had two heads, and he wore earrings on both. Next day, Maichak tried to make the bench. A termite[209] came and said, "What are you doing?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I cannot."

Maichak did not know that the king had two heads. Then a hummingbird came, and he asked,

"What are you doing, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I don't know what the king looks like."

The hummingbird went to look at the king. The king never paid any attention to visitors. He would not turn his heads, so they could not see what he looked like. The hummingbird sang and sang, but he could not see the king.

Then another small bird[210] came and asked Maichak what he was doing, and Maichak told him. This bird went into the king's house and he sang and sang. The king finally turned his heads to see the bird. The bird saw that the king had two heads and he went and told Maichak about the heads and the earrings on each of them. Maichak told the termite how to make the bench, and the termite made it, and finished it before noon. Maichak had finished his three-day test in two and a half days. Maichak put the finished bench in the king's house and he called the king and queen.

The king said, "Can it be like me?"

The bench said, "I am just like the king" and it came running up like a dog.

The king was terrified and ran away. The king said, "Maichak has frightened me, so I am going to kill him."

The queen went and warned Maichak of her father's intentions. Maichak ran away again. Now he was running away from his brothers-in-law and also from the king of the buzzards.

He came to a big mountain, Auyán-tepúi, or one of the other mountains like it, very near Auyán-tepúi. The king's men were still chasing him and Maichak did not know how to get down the mountain. Then a lizard[211] appeared and asked,

"What is the matter?"

Maichak told the lizard about the king.

The lizard said, "All right. Jump on my back and I will take you down."

Maichak got on the lizard and rode him. Down they went. There was a big tree[212] which fell down. While they were still coming down, the lizard

208-212 [see footnotes on p.331, category 11b - Analyst]

539 stopped about a hundred yards from the bottom and told Maichak to jump. But Maichak said it was too far. Finally they came down to the ground.

Maichak did not know where he was. He wandered about at random until he came to a big river, and then he walked upstream along the bank. He came to a quebrada and he walked up it. This was in Kamarata and he found his family's house there, but he was afraid to let them know that he was there because of having killed his wife. He stayed hidden for three days.

Maichak had two sisters and a brother. One of his sisters had been a girl when he left home and was now a woman. The other sister was just a baby when he went away and she did not remember Maichak. She used to ask, "How many of us are there, three?" and they would reply, "No, there are four of us, counting Maichak, who is dead."

The girls used to go down to the river to bathe. Maichak had turned himself into a little fish in the river in order to hide. When the girls bathed, Maichak touched the older girl intimately.

The girl said, "I will go get a sieve[213] and see what fish is touching me."

She went and got the sieve and went into the water. She gave the sieve to the smaller girl and told her to catch the fish when she shouted. Maichak touched the girl again and she shouted to the smaller girl to catch him. She caught Maichak who was a little fish.

The girl said, "You touched my sister so I will roast and eat you."

Maichak turned back into a man and said, "I am your brother."

Everybody was happy.

(This happened in the Aichá River, and may be it is called that because of Maichak.)[214]

The little sister ran to the house, shouting "Here is my brother."

Now Maichak had learned everything in the course of his travels. He stayed for some time at home and everybody wanted to see him.

He knew everything, he could do everything. He preached and taught, showing the other Indians what to do and how to make everything that they needed. His fame extended far and wide and many other Indians came to him to learn.

One day Maichak was sitting in the house, making an arrow and a woman was in the house, eating. This woman[215] had a speech defect. She was partly mute, and could not speak distinctly, and at this moment she had her mouth full. She turned to Maichak and said,

pemon-don	yeupüi	maichaʔ	enese.
"People (Indians)	are coming,	Maichak	to see."

Now, at this time, Maichak was still afraid of his brothers-in-law and of the king of the buzzards, from whom he had been fleeing. The woman spoke so indistinctly, that he understood her to say,

213-215 [see footnotes on pp. 331-32, category 116 - Analyst]

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pemon-don	yeupüi	maicha'	ereukai.
"People (Indians)	are coming,	Maichak	to kill."

[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi?: from near Luepa.
Karosiai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three [103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into [101] which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

II. The story of Maichak and his wife's family:

- a. The quarrel and the murder of Maichak's wife.
- b. The flight.
  - — This is one legend with two more or less separable episodes.

(A transitional episode including Piaimá's teaching of Maichak.)

III. The Buzzard King and Queen:

- a. The capture of the Queen.
- b. The three labors:
  1. Draining the lake.
  2. Building the house on rock.
  3. The magic bench.
     - — This legend is thus compounded of four distinct episodes.

(A transitional episode of flight from the Buzzard King.)

IV. The return home.

— Brief as it is, this curious episode is quite unrelated to any other and constitutes a separate legend.

(A very brief transitional episode in which Maichak appears as a culture teacher.)

V. The earthquake (involving a sort of Kamarakoto creation legend.)

The whole story is thus composed of a sequence of thirteen different episodes each of which is potentially a separate story, and several of which do indeed appear as distinct stories among other tribes, except that the two episodes of the magic implements and the three of the labors for the Buzzard King are less readily separable. So much has been crowded into this long story that it is almost a whole system of mythology in itself.

Despite this composite nature, the story as a whole has a sort of tenuous common theme or broad plot, which is related to the almost universal culture-hero complex. Maichak appears at first as a completely ignorant, useless individual. His deficiencies are to some extent remedied by the magic implements, but he loses them, largely because of his stupidity. His quarrel with his brothers-in-law and his subsequent flight also arise from his ignorance, the fact that he did not know how to make basketwork.[220]

Then comes the brief but revealing interlude in which Maichak is taught the useful arts by a supernatural being, Piaima, the formerly ignorant culture-hero receiving knowledge from a divine source. Finally Maichak returns to his

[220] [see footnote on p. 332, category 116 - Analyst]

539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[171] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one Wəwɛ as hero, and a Taurepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichaure (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called Kasaná-podoré and his heads are named Mõnyimõn and Etetó. The Kamarakoto name Atitó is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taurepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

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539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceibo like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221, 222 [see footnotes or p. 332, category 11b - Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto
[152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be
539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe
823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human
825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction
[171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos
[551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should
776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians,
and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not
been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who
attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians.
On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually
obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

[223] [see footnote on pp 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 263]

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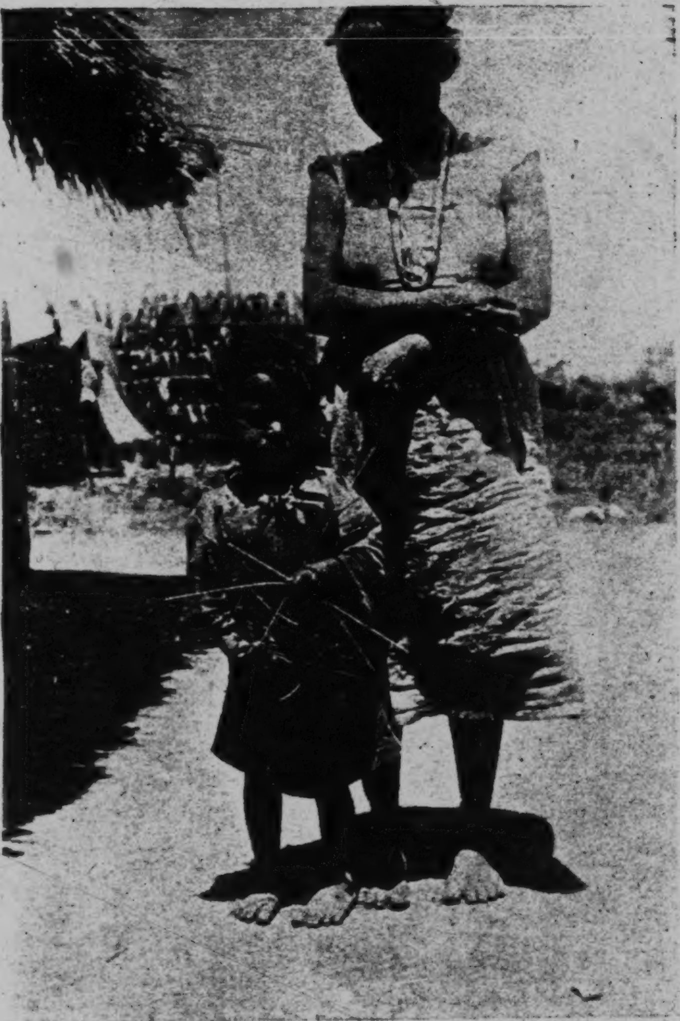

Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

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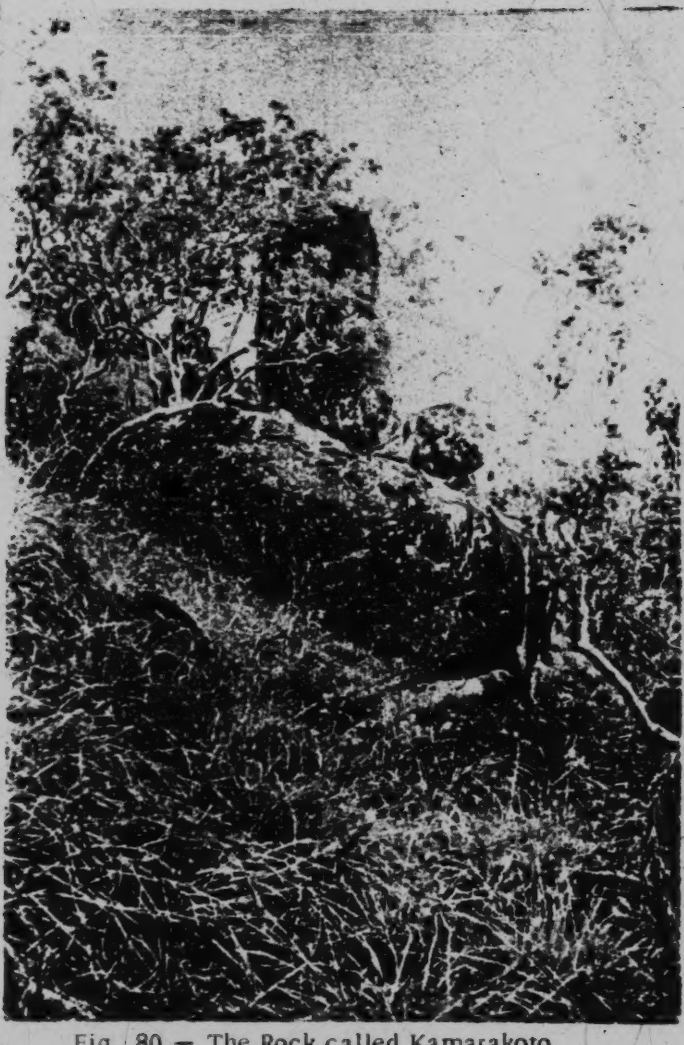

Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

157 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A
522 young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his
pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied
[824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is
[381] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe
[302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class
158 are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by
fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and
158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ-
[157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost
unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that
155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not
be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the
almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in
this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a
definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225]
Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed
by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really,
contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often
afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear
[828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and
often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise.
Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might
[254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their
stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by
physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens
[539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of
the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all
and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known ver-
sions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Indifference to Suffering.

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Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

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Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

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There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[1] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[171] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
842
[597] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]

[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

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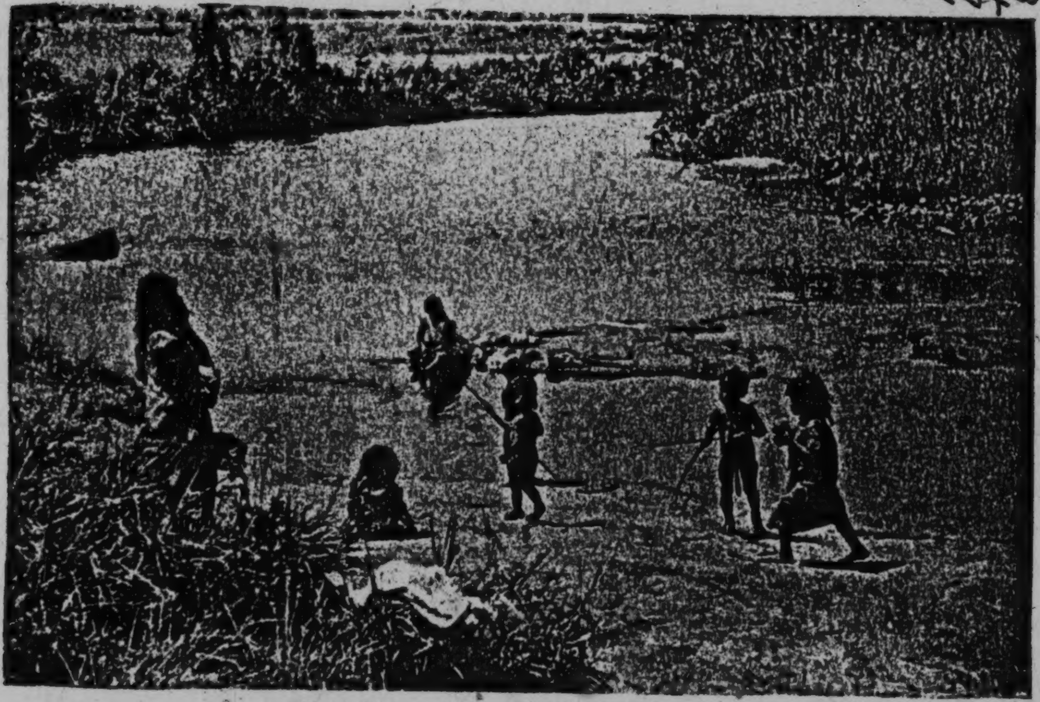

Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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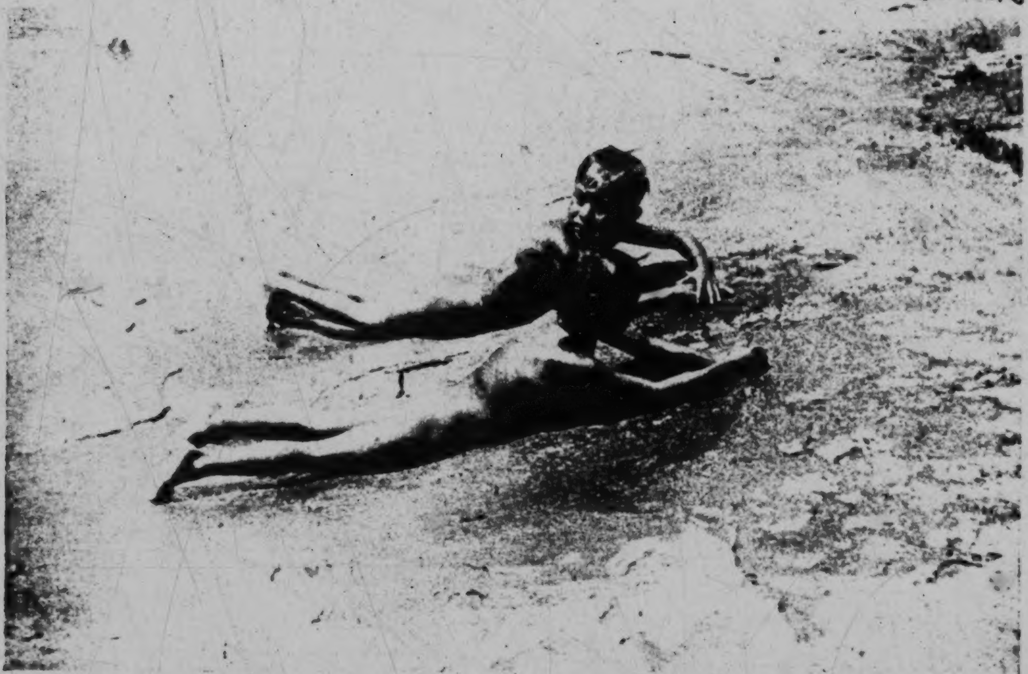

Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys
who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic
region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning
the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive
was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament,
a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce
the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not
effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely
made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the
breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially
opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his
clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other
clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a
symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think
of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other
ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no
great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers
as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for
bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals
so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and [481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is peculiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim [147] below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this [514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one [508] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all [857] consistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires 372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma- 311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy 372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of 311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

372 311 is probably not purposely fired, but it sometimes becomes dry enough to burn and catches from the sabanas. Thus there is a large, gaunt, burned forest high on Auyán-tepúi, where no Indian ever goes, and others were seen in similar situations between Kamarata and Luepa. This custom has had a detrimental effect on the beauty of the region, which is of little import to the Indians, and on the pasturage of the sabanas, which is of still less — both points of some potential interest for the prospect of the opening up of this region.[230]

[230] [see footnote on pp. 333-34, category 116 - Analyst]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the sur-
178 vivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe
177 before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

174 177 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and [411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones, [262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are [372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance. 177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

177 [291] life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 185 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 123 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

177 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show
123 still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

231 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

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232-234 [see footnotes on p.334 category 118 - Analysis]

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Mud-sealed square "calabozos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics, (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now
177 quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are so barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that they must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actual features of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

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78 A brief review of the apparent causes of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

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178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

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435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 435 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 178 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to different culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more 178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in [179] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im- [231] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by [511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

[235] [see footnote on p. 334; category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 281]

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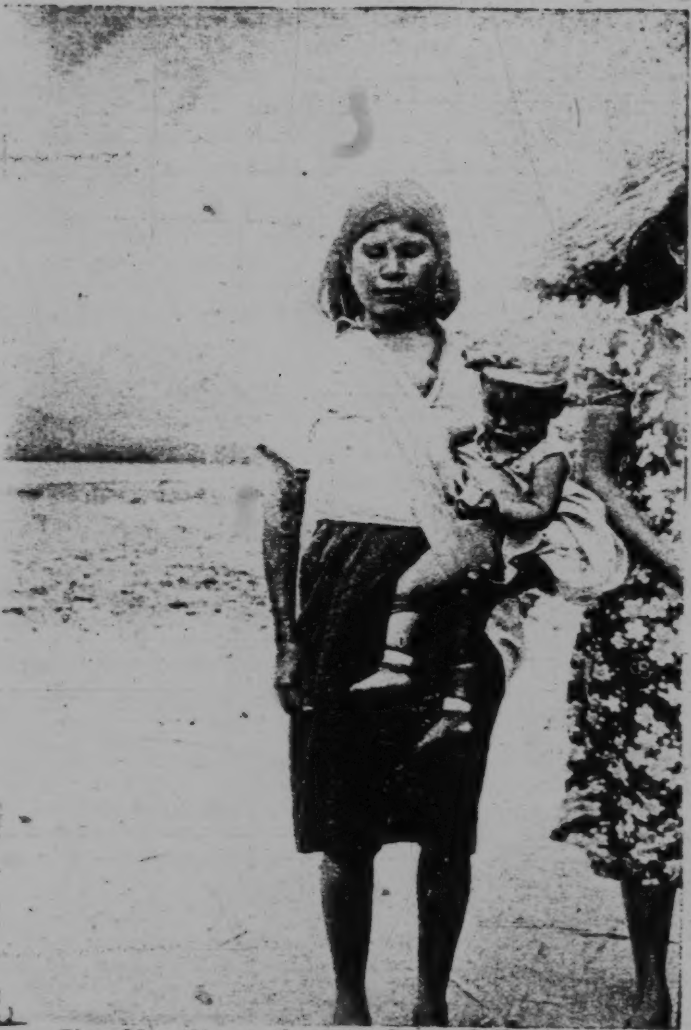

Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.236

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

000 for all sorts of transport, distribution, and other operations that are quite unnecessary for things produced at home for home consumption. Labor that will, expended on one's own garden, produce food for a month may not even pay for transporting a single meal from a distant producer.

From the point of view of maintaining a decent standard for the Indians the problem here is triple: to encourage the Indian to devote a proportion of his labor to products for home consumption, to guide his labor for purchase into channels where it will have as much purchasing power as possible, and to ensure delivery of imports as cheaply as possible. The latter problem is essentially a national one and not mainly the concern of those immediately dealing with the tribe, except as it is possible for them to prevent local profiteering. For the first two problems there is a solution, partial at least, that works toward both these ends and incidentally achieves others.

This solution, which has been found to work with some distant tribes where it has intelligently been promoted, is capable not only of sustaining and raising the Indian standard of living but also of converting the Indians from being, on the whole, a liability to the nation, into an outstanding asset. It is simply to discourage as far as possible their competition with the labor market in general and to encourage the employment and development of their special skills and traditional achievements, not only for their own immediate use and benefit, but also as a means of turning their labor into salable form at as high an exchange value as is practicable. That the Kamarakotos have skills thus convertible should be evident from the present monograph. Instead of turning the men to manual labor or factory production, for which more than enough unskilled hands are already available in the world and even in Venezuela, keep them making baskets of native design for their own use, lessening their necessity of purchases, and for export, where they can be traded far more advantageously than can an equivalent amount of unskilled labor. Instead of teaching the girls embroidery, which cannot profitably compete with either machine- or handmade products already on the market, encourage them to make native hammocks, ornaments, and fabrics for their own use and for export. The best of Kamarakoto (and other allied Indian) arts and crafts would find a wide and advantageous market if they were made known and a steady supply were available.

It would be fatal (and has already proven so in some cases elsewhere) to urge or, if avoidable, even to permit the Indians to make articles of non-native design, for instance, to weave the baskets of some type already popular elsewhere but not native to the Indians. This simply brings them again into unnecessary competition with the rest of the world and nullifies one purpose of the plan. Their designs can hold their own purely on merit, and to this inherent merit can be added the very considerable advantage and selling point that the articles are genuinely Indian in every sense. Uncontrolled traders (and in some cases more educated people who should know better) have a strong and in the long run devastating tendency to order articles from the Indians made to the trader's design, not the Indian's. Some native designs are better than others and some native workmen are more skillful. It is legitimate and highly desirable to select the best designs as models and to train to the level of the most skilled work, but both should be kept purely Indian.

Encouragement of indiscriminate trading, government subsidy, fixing of abnormally high wages for labor by law or custom, and the other means that have been tried, with the best of motives, in order to help the Indians, are almost certain to have the opposite effect. A system of government trading and control stations, staffed by officials trained for the task (including basic public health instruction) and under orders similar to the suggestions outlined here would do far more good and by making a fair profit on trade, which should be done in any case, could be self-supporting. This is distinctly a situation where private initiative, laissez-faire, and the supervision of missionaries over non-religious matters is likely to bring tragedy.

Another problem that is equally fraught with danger is that of land tenure. It will be impossible for the present Indian system to continue without friction if, or when, colonization involving their lands occurs. Giving the Indians title to land now actually occupied by them cannot be satisfactory, because it allows for no population increase on their part and especially, because it permits no flexibility as to residence and no long rotation of fields according to their custom. It is almost certain that the Indians could not continue to be self-supporting unless they were given what would seem, to one unacquainted with them, unreasonably large reserves, covering not only the land actually occupied but all the land that they now consider as available and desirable for future occupation. It is probably not necessary to point out that the conferring to colonists or speculators of "legal" titles to land here without regard to Indian occupation and needs would be both immoral and dangerous. The eventual introduction of fixed, personal, transferable tenure of land, in direct opposition to the Indian system, is probably inevitable but can only be successfully achieved, (with survival of the Indians), if it is done slowly and is accompanied by agricultural experimentation and education sufficient to make it possible to make a living on the minimum plot to be held by the head of each family.

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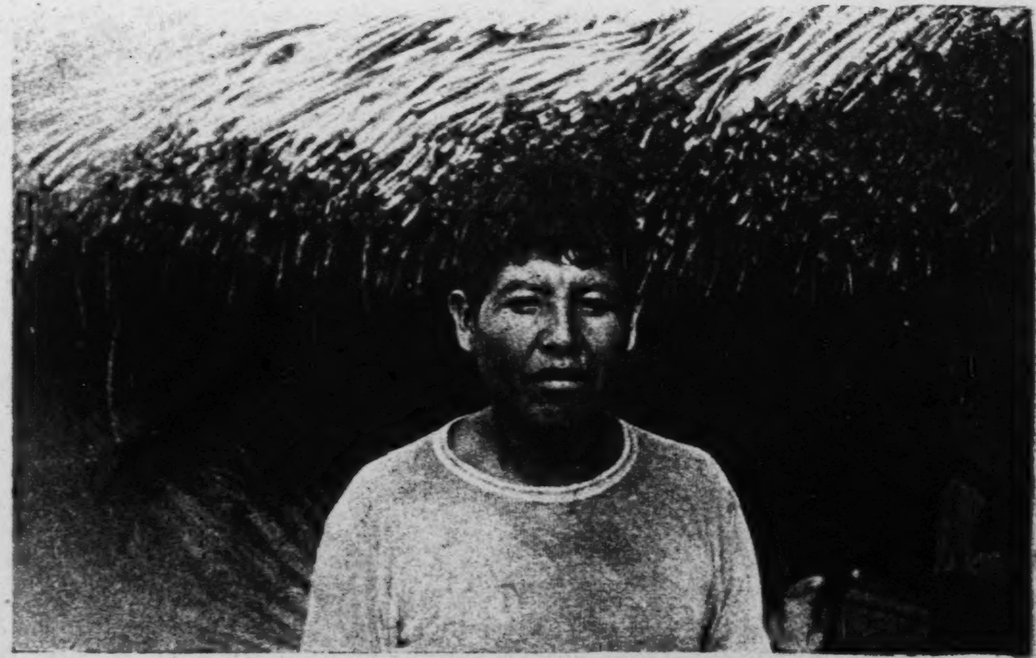

Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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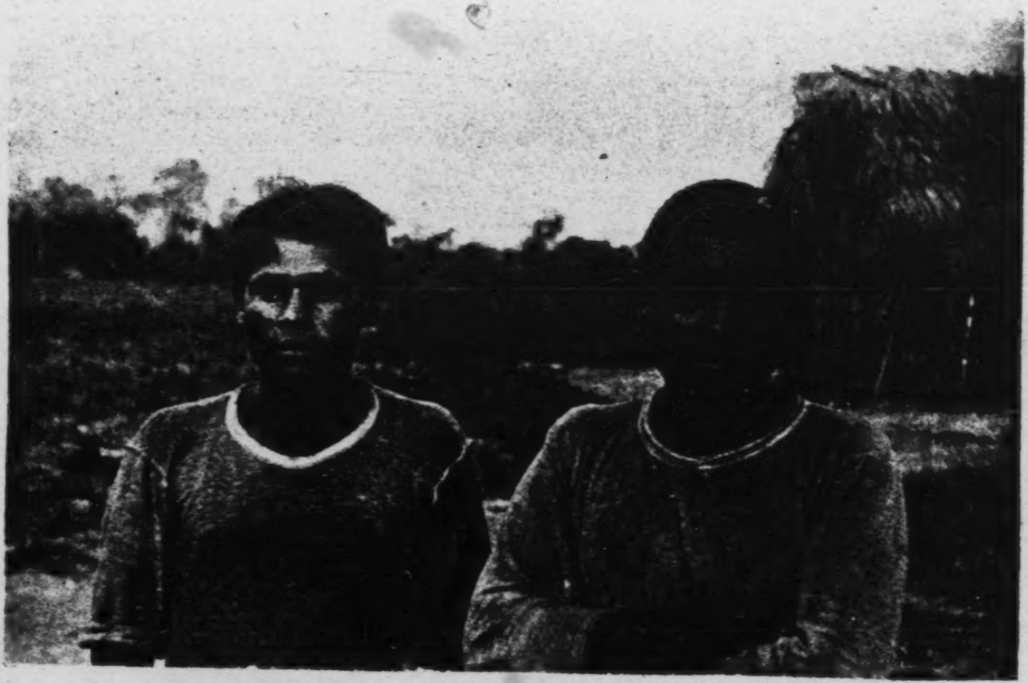

Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.

Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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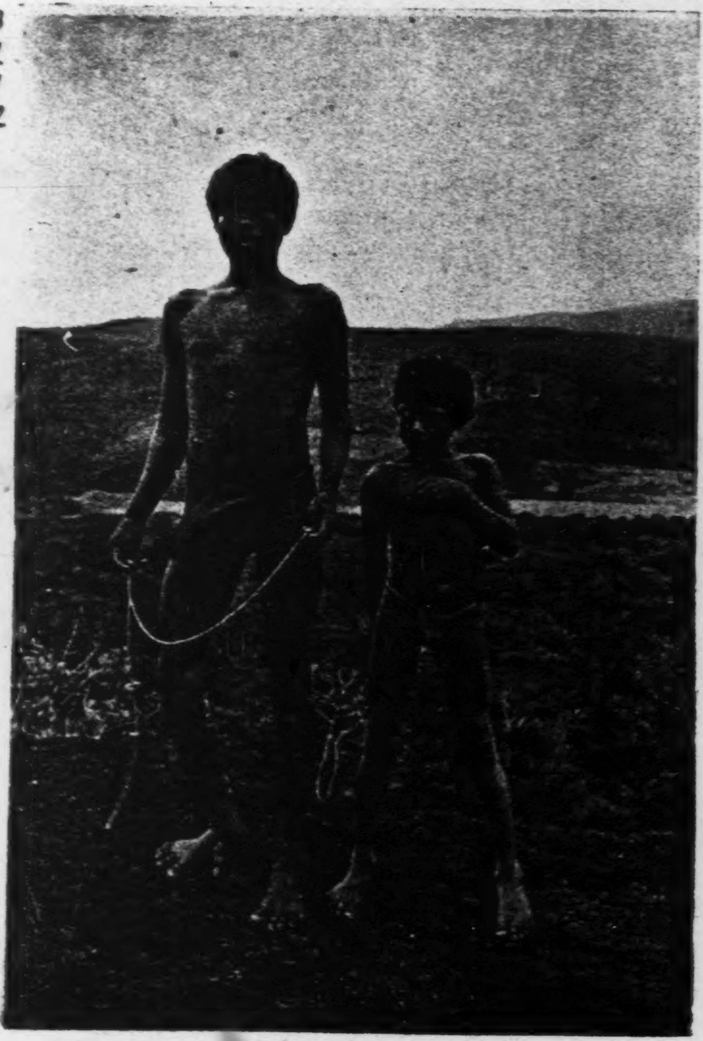

Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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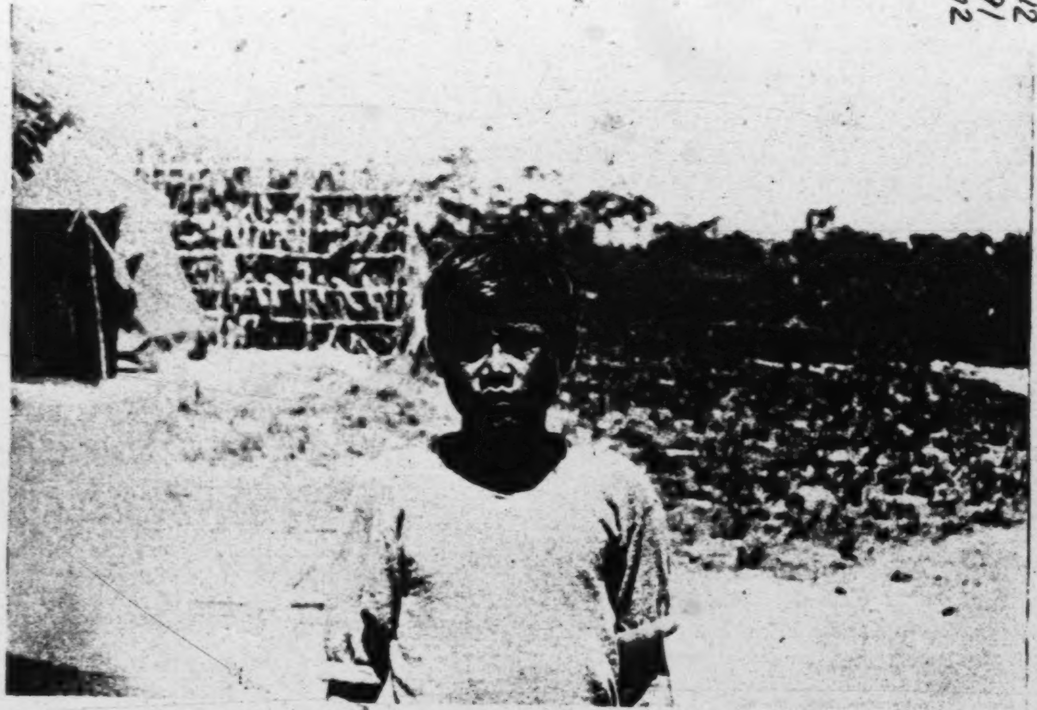

Fig. 87 – Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

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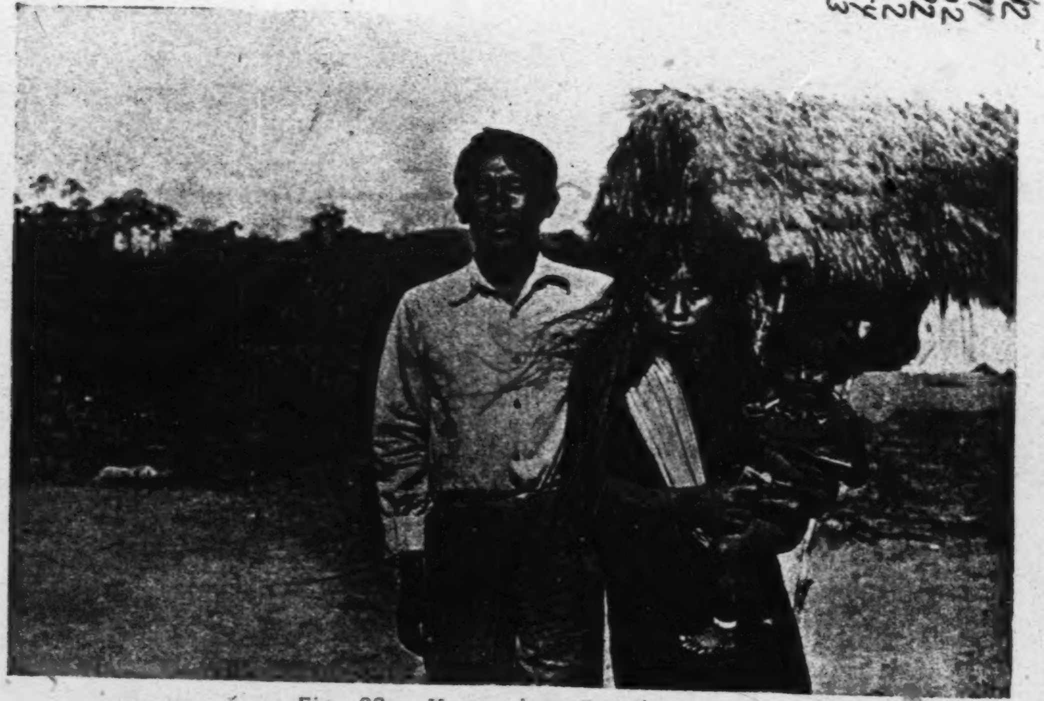

Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.

No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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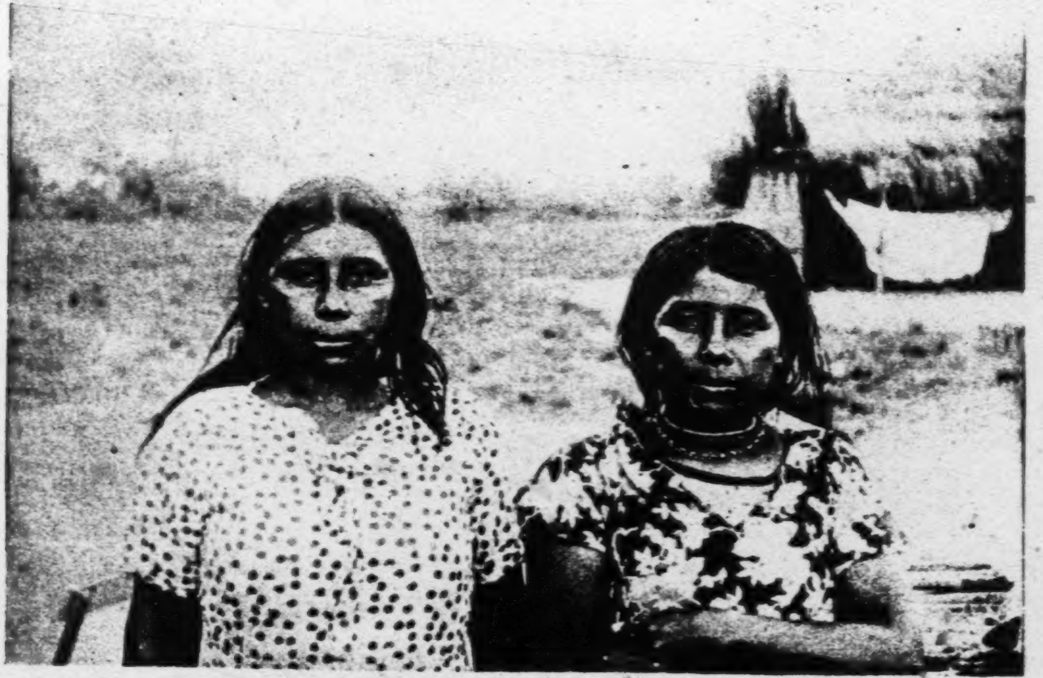

Fig. 89 – Kamarakoto Adult Women.

No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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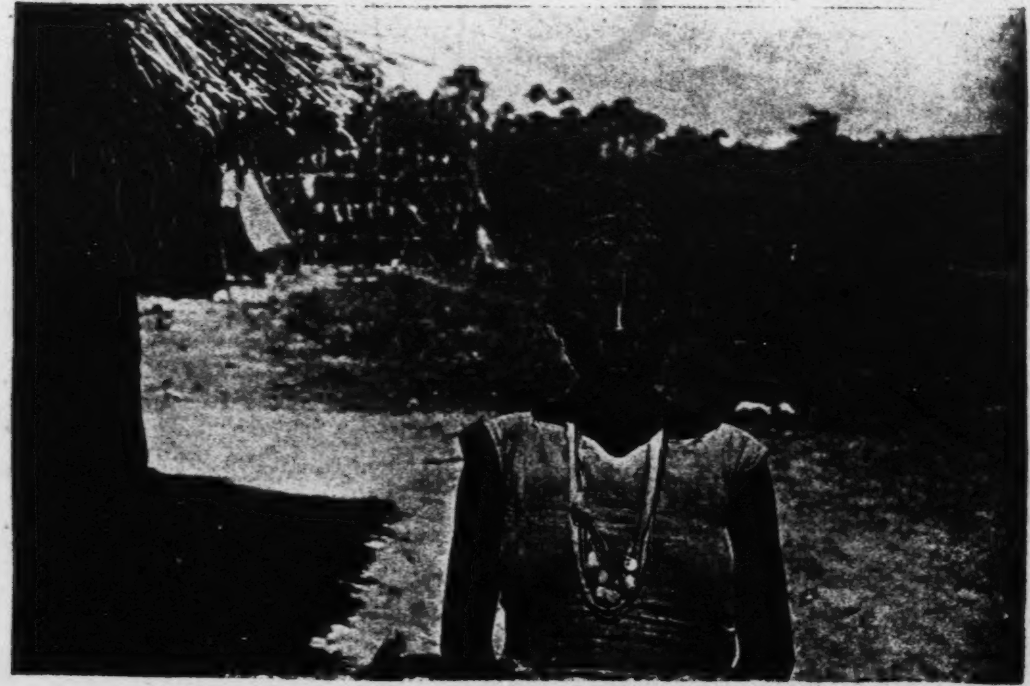

Fig. 90 – Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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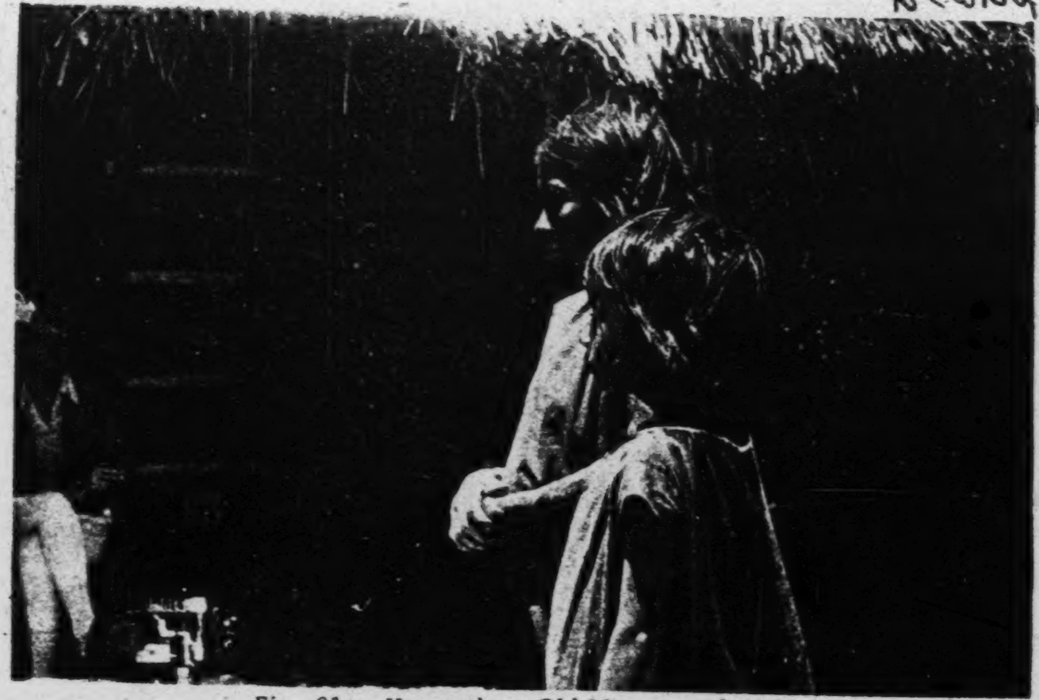

Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31,

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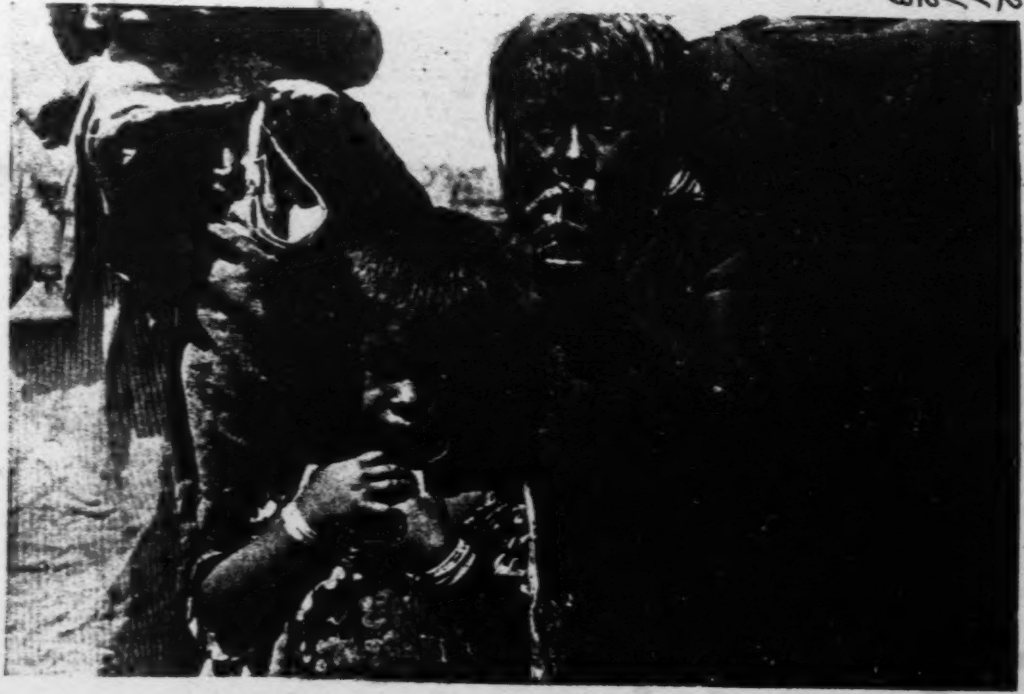

Fig. 92 – Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekunas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the handsomeness of the other Arekunas. [162] In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the chin. [302] On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down
the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in
European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the
men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but
others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes
the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and
[301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of orna-
ment or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common every-
where among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is
seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of
both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically
141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 cen-
timeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches),
while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight
about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course,
measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man
but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man
of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos
142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they
are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be
shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost
equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad
and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93).
[516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth
when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend
over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page,
184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively
mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional
732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants
[847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a
few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64
Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined
more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early
fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother
of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the
sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed.
These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformi-
ties, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as
far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

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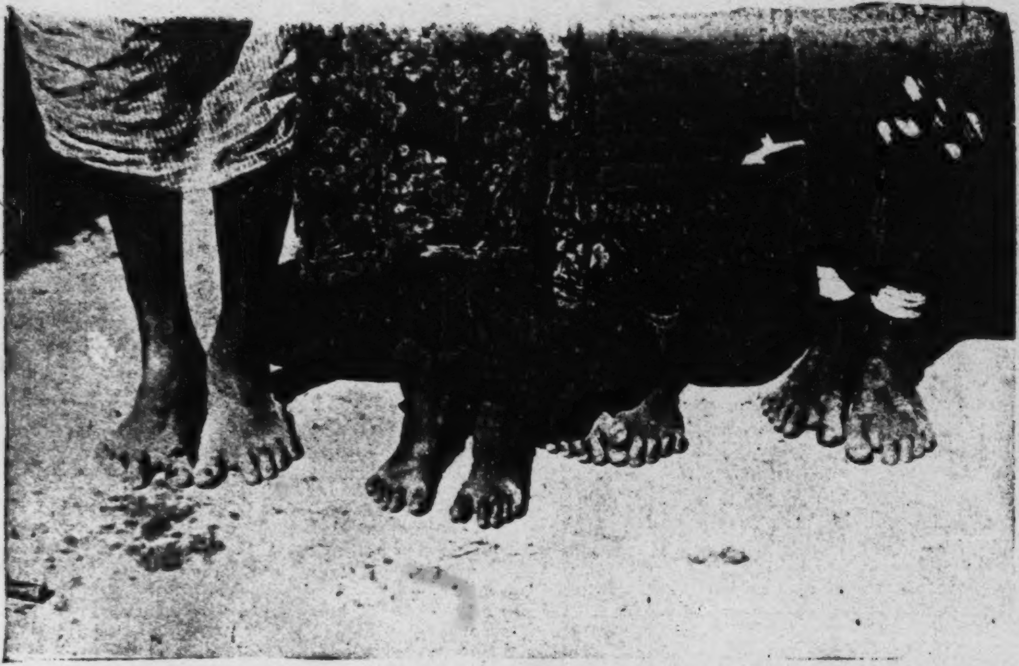

Fig. 93 – Feet of Kamarakoto Females.

No. 49 (left, only one foot showing) is adult and the mother of the other three, left to right Nos. 52 (youngest sister), 51, and 50 (oldest sister, but probably not over 8 years). Note increasing spreading of foot and divergence of great toe with greater age.

153 [158] There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

141 126 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists,
561 were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult
[589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic
141 mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

[237] [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analyst]

141

Fully Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 15

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	175 - 194	186.9 ± 1.4	5.5 ± 1.0	3.0 ± .5
Head breadth	150 - 160	154.2 ± .9	3.6 ± .7	2.3 ± .4
Head index	77 - 86	82.2 ± .6	2.3 ± .4	-------
Stature	147 1/2 - 168 1/2	160.0 ± 1.3	5.0 ± .9	3.1 ± .6
Sitting height	79 - 90	84.8 ± .8	3.1 ± .6	3.6 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	68 1/2 - 81 1/2	75.2 ± .8	3.3 ± .6	4.3 ± .8
Span	153 - 180	169.0 ± 1.7	6.5 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .7
Weight	105 - 140	123.7 ± 2.8	10.7 ± 2.0	-------

Young Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 9

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	173 - 190	182.7 ± 1.4	4.2 ± 1.0	2.3 ± .5
Head breadth	143 - 158	152.4 ± 1.5	4.6 ± 1.1	3.0 ± .7
Head index	78 - 86	83.2 ± .8	2.5 ± .6	-------
Stature	150 - 162	155.0 ± 1.0	3.1 ± .7	2.0 ± .5
Sitting height	77 - 86 1/2	80.9 ± .9	2.6 ± .6	3.3 ± .8
Stature less sitting height	71 - 76 1/2	74.1 ± .6	1.7 ± .4	2.3 ± .5
Span	155 - 170	162.4 ± 1.5	4.5 ± 1.1	2.8 ± .7
Weight	105 - 125	112.2 ± 2.1	6.3 ± 1.5	-------

For this group the head index (which is not significantly correlated with age in any of my samples) is not significantly different from that of the fully adult group. The head breadth and the derived figure of stature less sitting height are not technically significantly different from the adult group as isolated figures, but this may certainly be taken as a chance result and the difference shown may, on broader grounds, be taken to characterize the populations. The other means are all decidedly significantly different from those for the fully adult group, the weight most so, and prove that this sexually mature and apparently adult group is not, in fact, full-grown, or in other words that some adult growth occurs.

[145]

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Adult Female Kamarakotos; N = 14

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 186	177.1 ±1.3	4.7 ± .9	2.6 ±.5
Head breadth	146 - 159	150.9 ± .9	3.3 ± .6	2.2 ±.4
Head index	80 - 88	84.7 ± .6	2.4 ± .5	-------
Stature	136 - 155 1/2	146.9 ±1.2	4.6 ± .9	3.2 ±.6
Sitting height	71 - 82	77.1 ± .7	2.8 ± .5	3.6 ±.7
Stature less sitting height	65 - 77 1/2	69.8 ± .8	3.2 ± .6	4.5 ±.9
Span	143 - 163 1/2	152.0 ±1.4	5.2 ± 1.0	3.4 ±.6
Weight	80 - 120	103.6 ±3.3	12.2 ± 2.3	-------

[[28]] The Taurepán samples are not as good as the Kamarakotos. They are somewhat too homogeneous, being mostly from one section of this far-flung tribe and including too high a proportion of individuals of about the same age to be surely representative of the tribe as a whole. Although all are adult, the males, particularly, average younger than the fully adult Kamarakoto male sample and younger than the adult Taurepán male population. The measurements cannot, however, be very different from the Taurepán norms, and their use in comparisons cannot be seriously misleading if their incompletely representative character is borne in mind.

Adult Male Taurepanes; N = 12

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	179 - 191	184.3 ± 1.1	3.7 ±.8	2.0 ±.4
Head breadth	147 - 161	154.2 ± 1.3	4.5 ±.9	2.9 ±.6
Head index	79 - 89	83.2 ± .8	2.7 ±.6	-------
Stature	152 - 161	156.9 ± 1.0	3.3 ±.7	2.1 ±.4
Sitting height	79 - 87	82.4 ± .6	2.1 ±.4	2.5 ±.5
Stature less sitting height	70 - 79 1/2	74.5 ± .8	2.8 ±.6	3.8 ±.8
Span	156 - 170	164.4 ± 1.2	4.2 ±.9	2.5 ±.5

141 **Adult Female Taurepanes; N = 11**

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ±1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ±1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ±1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ±1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3±1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ±1.7	5.5 ±1.2	3.6± .8

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144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these
582 Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seem-
648 ing contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekunas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekunas.

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult
142 Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of
[101] Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa
(i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas
of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but
these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at
least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although
141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with
[128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases
excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

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Comparison of No. 25 (known as "Simon Bolivar") Adult Male, with Adult Male Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	165	+10.8	3.0
Head index	88	+ 5.8	2.5
Stature	158 1/2	− 1.5	.3
Standing height	84 1/2	− .3	.1
Span	167	− 2.0	.3
Weight	140	+16.3	1.5

Comparison of Head Dimensions of No. 25 with Adult Male Taurepanes

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 3.7	1.0
Head breadth	165	+10.8	2.4
Head index	88	+ 4.8	1.8

Comparison of No. 14 (known as "Rosa Bolivar"), Adult Female, Sister of No. 25, with Adult Female Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	183	+5.9	1.3
Head breadth	160	+9.1	2.7
Head index	87	+2.3	1.0
Stature	148 1/2	+1.6	.3
Sitting height	79	+1.9	.7
Span	157	+5.0	1.0
Weight	100	−3.6	.3

[144] Simon's head is significantly broader than those of the Kamarakotos and is confirmatory of the belief that he has some non-Arekuna blood. His head index is not quite significantly greater (P is less than .02 but greater than .01). Rose Bolivar's head is about at the limit of significance in its greater breadth in comparison with Kamarakoto (P slightly less than .01), but her index is not shown to be significantly different. In other dimensions these Indians fall well within the Kamarakoto normal range. The difference of Simon's head breadth

141 from the Taurepán sample is not significant (P somewhat greater than .02) but in view of the other relationships this can probably be imputed to the deficiency of that sample. It is, however, to be kept in mind as a possibility that these people might belong to a group that is more variable than are the Kamarakotos in this respect, rather than one that is definitely more broad-headed. This would not alter the fact that they are different.

[121] I was able to measure three adult male Arekunas from south and west of Kamarata, typical of the Indians of outlying regions, with respect to the central Kamarakotos, whose pertinence to this tribe is dubious. They compare as follows with the fully adult Kamarakotos:

Comparison of Three Adult Male Arekunas from the Region of the Caroni with Adult Male Kamarakotos

Measurement	Individual No.	X	d	d/σ
Head length	1	195	+ 8.1	1.5
	2	181	− 5.9	1.1
	3	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	1	155	+ .8	.2
	2	148	− 6.2	1.7
	3	157	+ 2.8	.8
Head index	1	79	− 3.2	1.4
	2	82	− .2	.1
	3	84	+ 1.8	.8
Stature	1	165	+ 5.0	1.0
	2	164 1/2	− .5	.1
	3	172 1/2	+12.5	2.5
Sitting height	1	89	+ 4.2	1.4
	2	82	− 2.8	.9
	3	79	− 5.8	1.9
Span	1	175	+ 6.0	.9
	2	172	+ 3.0	.5
	3	175	+ 4.0	.6
Weight	1	155	+31.3	2.9
	2	115	− 8.7	.8
	3	115	− 8.7	.8

No. 3 (Fig. 94) is taller than any central Kamarakoto but the difference is not surely significant (P is between .02 and .01). No. 1 is distinctly outside the Kamarakoto normal range in weight (P definitely less than .01), but little

141 importance can be given a character so largely dependent on environment, even over a short period of time, when the environment of this Indian certainly is different (in whatever way) from that of the central group. In other respects these Indians are well within the Kamarakoto range, as they are also in the less measurable characteristics of appearance, and there is no reason to separate them physically from that tribe or at least from the group of Arekunas of this general region.

Kamarakotos and Taurepánes compare as follows:-

Comparison of Adult Male Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 15 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 12 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	186.9	184.3	2.6
Head breadth	154.2	154.2	0
Head index	82.2	83.2	-1.0
Stature	160.0	156.9	3.1
Sitting height	84.8	82.4	2.4
Stature less sitting height	75.2	74.5	.7
Span	169.0	164.4	4.6

None of these differences is significant (d/σ is less than 2.5 in all cases) and as far as these measurements go no distinction between male Kamarakotos and Taurepánes is shown. [145] The fact that the Taurepánes appear to be slightly smaller in all dimensions is due to the observed fact that the average age of the individuals in the Taurepán sample was slightly less, and some adult growth occurs in these groups.

Comparison of Adult Female Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 14 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 11 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	177.1	176.5	.6
Head breadth	150.9	150.6	.3
Head index	84.7	85.4	- .7
Stature	146.9	145.8	1.1
Sitting height	77.1	77.3	- .2
Stature less sitting height	69.8	68.5	1.3
Span	152.0	153.1	-1.1

P 141 P [144] [101] P M

These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

128 141 114

The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141

The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and
30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 -Analyst]

[text continues on p. 296]

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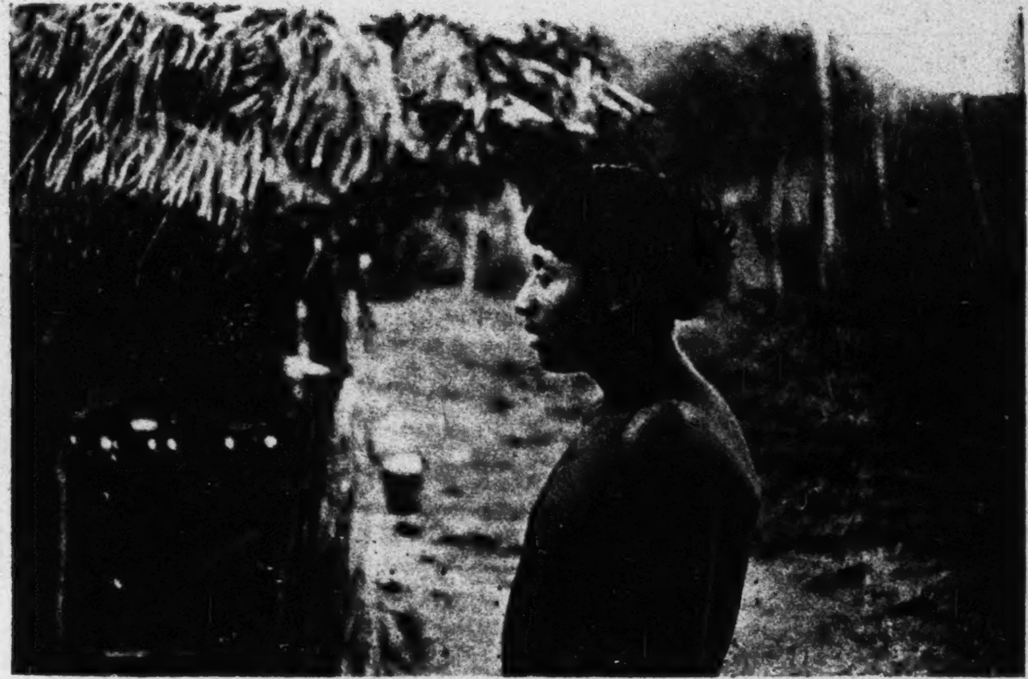

Fig. 94 – Arekuna Adult Male.

No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

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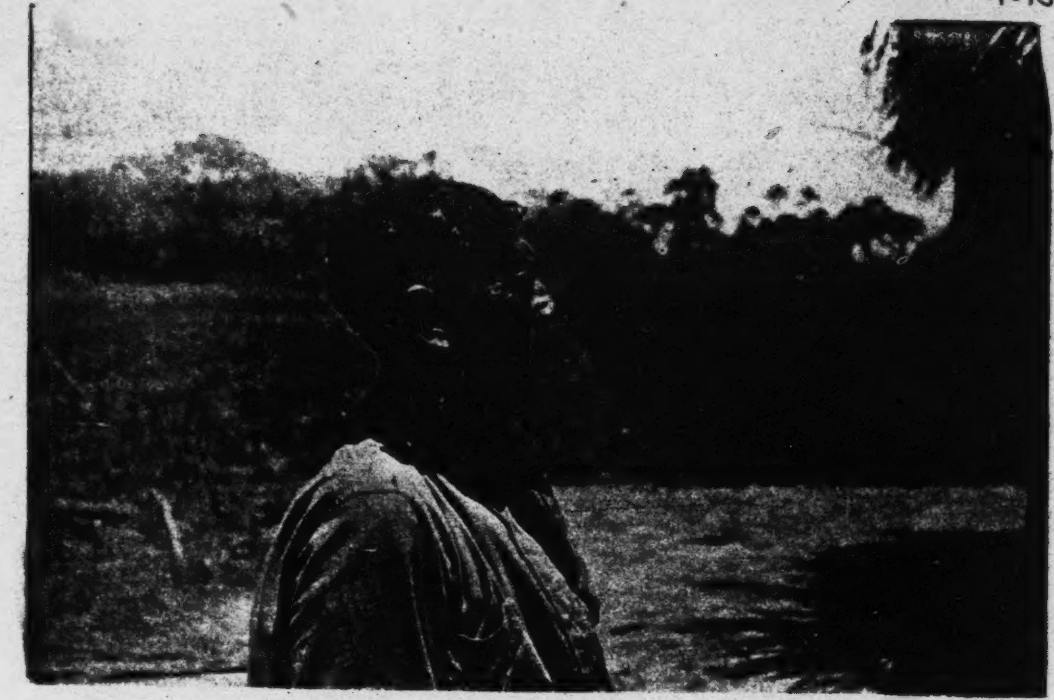

Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.

No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

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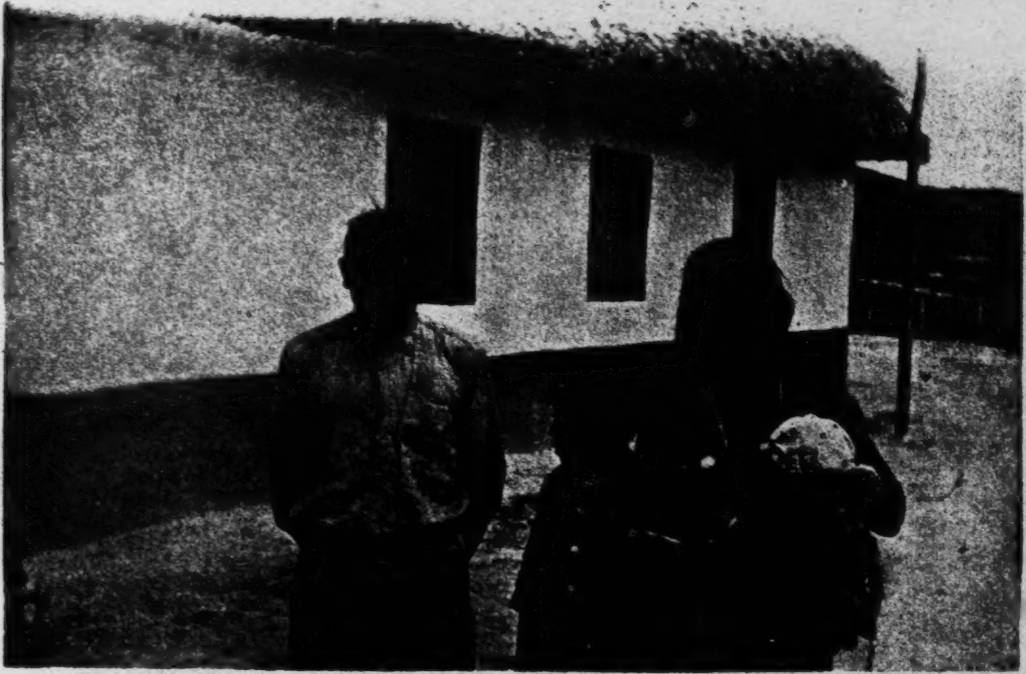

Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá.
Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

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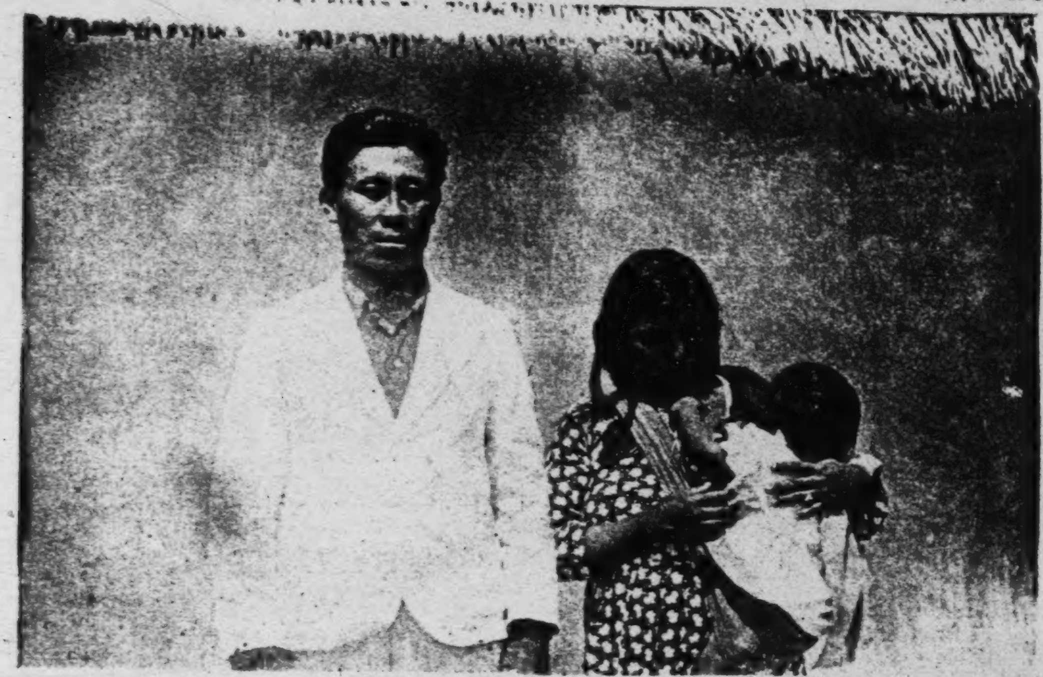

Fig. 98 – Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

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Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P
M
[128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P
M
[101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

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[114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p 335, category 116 - Analyst]

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Thus the 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 15 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	146.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.6	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.6	144.7	155.0	160.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.6	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	59.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	128.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	56.0	81.0	112.3	122.7

[126]
[123]

Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

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Growth in Female Kamarakotos

	No. 52, about 3 years old	No. 64, about 5 years old	Mean of Nos. 29, 32 & 51, about 6-7 years old	No. 50, about 8 years old	No. 27, about 10-11 years old	No. 61, about 15 years old	Mean of 14 adults
Head length	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Head breadth	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Head index	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Stature	92	107	113	134	143	146 1/2	146.9
Sitting height	51 1/2	59	60 1/2	73	73	76	77.1
Stature less sitting height	40 1/2	48	52 1/2	61	70	69 1/2	69.8
Span	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Weight	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

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The available data for male children and young adults, of whom 24 of central Kamarakoto stock were measured, in addition to the 15 older adults, provide (apparently for the first time) an opportunity to study relative growth in such a relatively pure and primitive human stock. This rather lengthy study is not within the proper scope of the present work, but in order to make the important data all available here in most convenient form, a tabulation of the linear measurements of these individuals (omitting the oldest group in which no determinable growth occurs) is presented below. Logarithms are given instead of raw measurements because the latter should be turned into logarithms for clearest study of relative growth in any case and one step is thus saved the reader without using any more space here. The sequence is that of stature.

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
35.	1.9320	1.6946	1.5563	1.9395	2.2175	2.1335	2
68.	1.9335	1.7160	1.5563	1.9395	2.2380	2.1461	2 1/2
30.	2.0149	1.7634	1.6580	2.0128	2.2430	2.1761	4
67.	2.0191	1.7520	1.6812	2.0294	2.2380	2.1461	4
63.	2.0828	1.8195	1.7404	2.0899	2.2455	2.1584	7-8
33.	2.0969	1.8261	1.7634	2.1004	2.2430	2.1732	7-8
37.	2.1038	1.8228	1.7818	2.1206	2.2355	2.1523	8-9
54.	2.1106	1.8261	1.7924	2.1271	2.2455	2.1675	8-9
36.	2.1206	1.8603	1.7745	2.1038	2.2553	2.1790	9-10
48.	2.1492	1.8808	1.8129	2.1492	2.2553	2.1761	12-13
46.	2.1538	1.8603	1.8451	2.1761	2.2480	2.1335	12-13
47.	2.1568	1.8692	1.8420	2.1732	2.2577	2.1553	12-13
16.	2.1703	1.8779	1.8603	2.1931	2.2480	2.1644	10
40.	2.1718	1.8949	1.8451	2.1903	2.2718	2.1931	12-13

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos (Cont.)

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
15.	2.1761	1.8865	1.8633	2.1903	2.2601	2.1847)	Young adult, ca. 16-21 (except No. 53 who is large but younger than others in this group, ca. 14).
62.	2.1790	1.9031	1.8513	2.2014	2.2577	2.1790)	
22.	2.1875	1.9031	1.8692	2.2014	2.2648	2,1553)	
23.	2.1875	1.8976	1.8751	2.2095	2.2380	2.1703)	
18.	2.1889	1.9165	1.8573	2.2304	2.2648	2.1875)	
58.	2.1917	1.9031	1.8779	2.2122	2.2625	2.1790)	
24.	2.1945	1.9031	1.8837	2.2135	2.2672	2.1987)	
10.	2.1973	1.9217	1.8692	2.2068	2.2788	2.1959)	
53.	2.1973	1.9004	1.8921	2.2175	2.2648	2.1818)	
41.	2.2095	1.9370	1.8779	2.2279	2.2601	2.1959)	

[p. 301]

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113 The following brief list is neither an attempt at a general bibliography of the Indians of this part of South America nor a complete list of the works consulted in the preparation of this monograph. It includes, however, the publications that seem to me most important from the present point of view, those to which I am most indebted, and those to which explicit reference is made in the text. Those interested in the very numerous studies that are implicit in the background of such a work will find references in most of the following publications, notably in those of Roth, Karsten, Koch-Grünberg, and Nordenskiöld, which will lead readily to most of the other literature. See also the linguistic references on a previous page.

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[p.305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

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101 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177
192 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that *w* should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like *v*.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, *i* with *e*, *ū* with *ə*, *a* with *ō* and *o*, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following *r*, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. *oi* is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate *ōi*.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography *ua*, is preferable to *wa*, and *ia* is acceptable for *ya*, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

194
197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bisyllabic. Among them *o. ĩina* was also recorded but *õ. ina* and *õina* were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant *ina* in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the *n* is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced *worũwori* and *wõrowori*.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme *r-l* is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative *r*.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[12.8] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as *b*, especially after nasals, are really members of the *p* - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as *d*, especially after nasals, really belong to the *t* phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of *b* and *d* would resemble the Spanish *j*.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word *tsigerende*, but this is not a fully voiced lenis *g* but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between *i* and *e* and it does belong to the *k*-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word *gwai* slowly he said *kə-wai* — upon being removed from the influence of the following *w* the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as *g*, but after *i* he often writes it *d*. It might be argued that *ʼ* is merely an artificial grouping of members of the *d* or *t* and *k-g* phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and *d*, *t*, *k*, and *g* never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

194 character and its status as a separate phoneme seems to me to be conclusively established by the fact that when word- and phrase-building bring it into a phonetic position where d, t, k, and g can occur, which often happens, it never becomes one of those sounds but retains its own character or disappears altogether.

23. In many languages an analogous effect is produced by a glottal stop which may be heard even in English words like "no" when pronounced very quickly and decisively. The effect is the same but the means are different.

24. Most conveniently so written, but unlike the combination of a plosive t + s, which does not occur in Kamarakoto.

25. I suspect that some travelers, familiar with ch and not with affricative ts, have mistaken the latter for the former, but to one conscious of the distinction they are usually readily separable.

26. In the Kamarakoto word, contrary to rule, the penultimate vowel is short so that the relative vowel quantities are: 1, a — short; 2, a — slightly longer; 3, i — short; 4, a — short. This is similar to the abnormal long a: in the Taurepán word. The normal shortness (or inconspicuousness) of the i — vowels sometimes produces such anomalies in Kamarakoto and allied languages (but a long i, i:, does occur).

27. This sound is absent in American English and is not invariable in British English. Americans always and British often use fricative r even in words like "very." To the American ear the flapped r sounds like a dull d.

28. To such an extent that it would hardly occur to a German to represent this Indian sound by r and, for instance, Koch-Grünberg almost invariably writes it l. E.g. he writes "Taulipang" for the tribal name now standardized in Spanish as "Taurepán." The actual pronunciation is between these two.

29. The same thing is true of flapped "r" in a number of Spanish colloquial dialects. For instance Venezuelan peones commonly say "reflán" for "refrán." This makes r for the Kamarakoto phoneme a still better symbol for Spanish readers.

30. But, as already mentioned, this sound, never occurring except before a vowel, could be considered as merely an element in a whole series of ascending diphthongs, wa, wo, etc. These sounds are written as diphthongs in Spanish, ua, uo, etc., and Spanish transcriptions of Indian words are usually so

194 written. To use u in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from u and u: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of u. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

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171 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . , which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-təpui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tepui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

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114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

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114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

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826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and x probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives muɾɛ, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of luməɛ: (= -ɾ-mɛ) as if they were variants of muɾɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)məlɛ (= muɾɛ) as Ingarikó and unlɛ (= -nɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto ɔːapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

[1] [i.e. inɛ' — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as *y-apon*, =
193 *(y)-apon*, a form derived from *apono*, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto *y-apono* and Chaima *y-aponoto* to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is *apono* (*y-* and *-to* being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi *abo* (for *apo*). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
171 steel knives (1922). He believes that *maria* is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is *kutsupara*. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, *siparari* and variants. Taurepán *tawōra* is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that *ta-ra*, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant *y*.

103 57. *Tuaiba* is the Kamarakoto name of this place. *Santa Marta* was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English *w*, but to my ear this is an open *b* or bilabial *v*.

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word
115 ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes near-
194 er than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been
194 called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or
114 whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the
[104] Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.
[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

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104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

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114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

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823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruań; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripaiʼ, which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

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114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "uoiuo = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigonazou,*" "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives *p elo*, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than *T. albirostris*), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to *kanaima* (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto *katsupara* means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' *karibana*, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like *napi* and *cha'* (or *chak*), which in Kamarakoto are *napwei*, a *Dioscorea*, and *(i)cha'*, *Ipomea*. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of *both* words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the *napi* words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to *Dioscorea*, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to *Ipomea* or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-məda, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, toˀ-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," iː-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout
Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsəʔ" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often
heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided
was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired
a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not
use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they
are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the
Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the
Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to
precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in
others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any
comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect
studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán
dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes
that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually
spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several
different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
103 marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

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161 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

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114 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551
177 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343
273 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342
824
122 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with *Mauritia* leaves, but the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available *Oenocarpus* leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant *kosɛra*, the root *kõsɛ*, and the prepared bread *eke*.
[262]

[114]
[462] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173]
[177] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237
[211] 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there. They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 278 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous *per se*. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as *Lonchocarpus densiflorus*, but the Kamarakoto ingʔ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as *Clibadium*, is *Lonchocarpus*. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226
824 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
114 innumerable doubtful points.

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger
of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated
casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its
force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the
poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The
"deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with
no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only
by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys
any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but
this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed
that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had
grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no
one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes
as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes
and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use
pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old
as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not
because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294
114 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have
described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is
a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some
Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no
[177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads,
if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ...... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

114 286 177 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region, but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 286 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized" technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

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171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

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114
227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285
252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use otapa for sifting.

*285
171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill
171 involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to
be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but
it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is cor-
482 rectly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form,
114 since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a raw-
411 hide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant
283 fibers for such purposes.

*285 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British
227 Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps
[171] and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they
[228] will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish,
by biting their heads.

*285 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was
192 told that it is "correct."
194

*285 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after
531 they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a
177 non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in
another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was
seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has
ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently
been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated
members of the group.

534 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as ap-
824 plying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly
a reed flageolet.

534 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been
114 devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534
171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482
171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123
674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123
436
439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiˀ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɤ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539 [825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi’.

191. Pangai’.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tírita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kõssra.

[482] [171] 195. akai’. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai’ is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai’.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. mureiʼ. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʼ.

[825] 210. A kuriñata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʼ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʼ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʼ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʼ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call
539 of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none
of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re-
[148] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and
peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at
the time of the great Indian war.

539
[825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obvious-
ly each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was con-
sidered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by
plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi
[823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain
until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being
negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed
266 question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

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114 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

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158 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here, but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

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177 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence, living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

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296 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

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836 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accompany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

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[201]
[484] 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

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311 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
179 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely
aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

[1] [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
[2] [i.e. chickens - Analyst] [3] [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
[4] [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.

P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

P 240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

M
114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

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/For a comprehensive listing of Kamarakoto vocabulary, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 38-52, 70-77, 92-100./

5: Simpson

SS16 Pemon SS16

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/For an analysis of Kamarakoto grammar, see category 116, pp. 72-91./

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/For information on the intricacies of Kamarakoto basketry, (e.g., plaiting and weaving methods, designs, types of products and their uses, etc.), see category 116, pp. 176-200, 324-326./

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/Information on the use of beads as an integral part of a woven fabric will be found in category 286./

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./
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/For information on the similarities and differences between the vocabularies of the Kamarakoto, Taulipang (Taurepan), Arecuna and other Carib-speaking groups, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 36-52, 54-71, 86-90, 92-97, and 100-105./